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A QUARTERLY FOR THE INDEPENDENT THINKER

Summer • 1950

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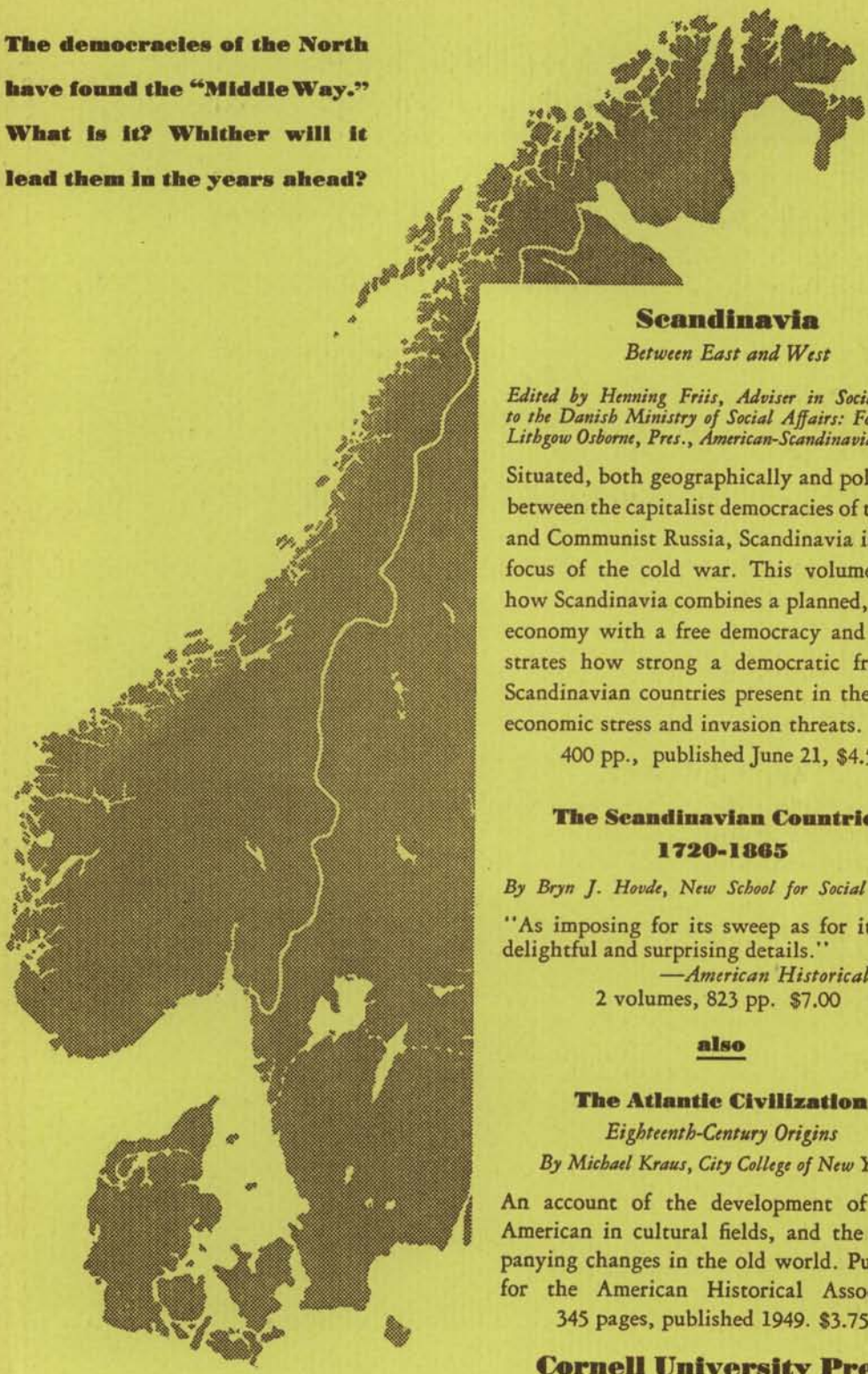

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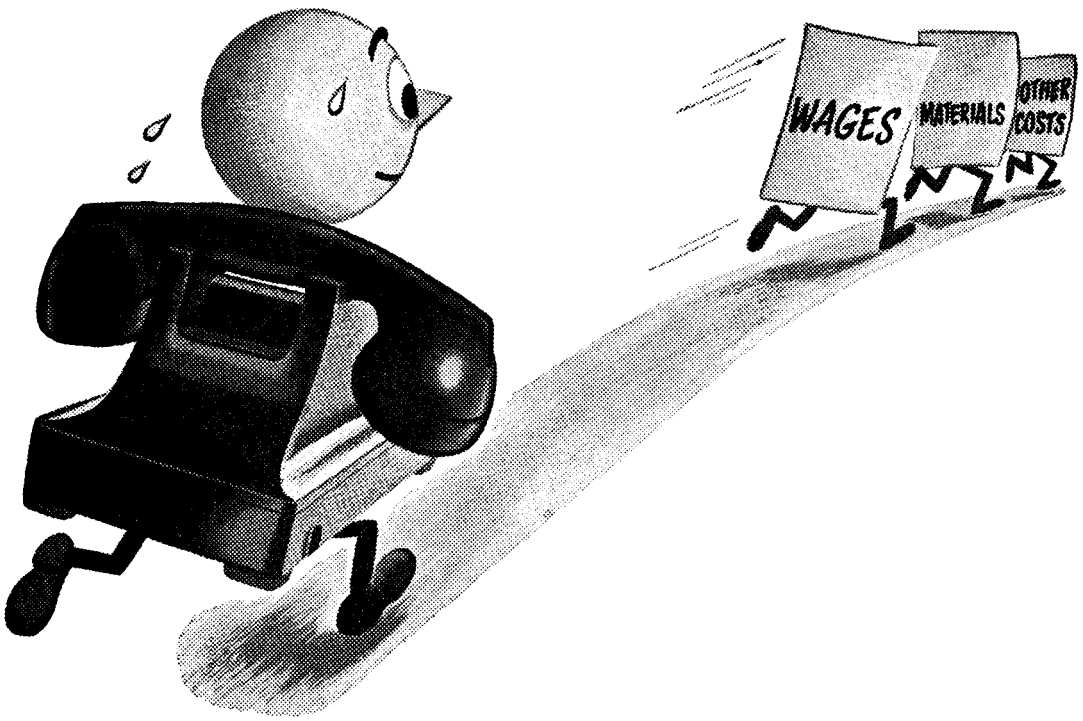

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How Big Need a Big Bomb Be?

Harrison Brown

These days, continually fuddled with drink,
I fail to satisfy the appetites of the soul.
But seeing men all behaving like drunkards,
How can I alone remain sober?
—*Written by* WANG CHI *during the war which preceded the T'ang dynasty.*

MANY scientists were surprised on the day of the President's announcement that Russia had carried out her first atomic explosion. We were not surprised by the fact that the Russians had produced a bomb—far from it. Indeed, guessing on the basis of our own experience, we had been expecting news of such an explosion at almost any time. Rather, we were surprised by the attitude expressed by numerous persons in public life who had previously assured the American people that the Soviet Union would not be able to produce an atomic bomb for many years to come. Some of these persons now ignored their previous long-range estimates, which almost certainly had played a major role in shaping State Department policy, and said, "We have all known that it could be anticipated." Others, unwilling to believe that Russian technology is capable of such achievement, placed the entire responsibility for Soviet success upon Soviet espionage activity. Shortly after the news of the explosion was announced, Admiral Zacharias, formerly director of Naval Intelligence, produced a radio program in which he assured the public that Russia accomplished the feat only through the efforts of an astute

✪ Associate professor in the Institute for Nuclear Studies and in the department of chemistry at the University of Chicago, HARRISON BROWN was from 1942-43 research associate on the Plutonium Project there, and from 1943-46 assistant director of chemistry at the Clinton Laboratories in Oak Ridge. He is the author of *Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?*, co-author of *Years of the Modern*, and editor of the *International Compilation of Meteorites and Their Properties.*

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Russian spy who had among other things been an official Soviet observer at Bikini. Others pointed to the revelations of the British scientist May. More recently, they have pointed to the more serious and extensive revelations of Klaus Fuchs. "From now on," these persons tell us, "we must really tighten our security and see to it that no more 'secrets' leak out."

Meanwhile, other assurances were given the public. General Walter Bedell Smith, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, speaking of Russia's production of atomic bombs, stated: "There is no reason for the Soviet to reach in less than ten years the mass production that we have reached now."

All assurances, such as those given by Admiral Zacharias and General Bedell Smith, demonstrate clearly the appalling deficiencies in understanding that exist in many quarters as to how science and technology operate. Clearly, such persons do not realize that one cannot keep a secret of nature from a man who knows the proper questions to ask and how to answer them. Equally clearly, such men enormously overestimate the technological difficulties of manufacturing atomic bombs.

There can be little question that the revelations of men such as May and Fuchs aided the Russian atomic development program to some extent. But we must not fool ourselves. It is probable that the Russians, solely by asking the proper questions of nature, would have developed the bomb anyway. And we can expect that the Soviet production of bombs is being pushed forward today with all possible rapidity. Indeed, it is quite possible that by the summer of 1951 Russia may have a sufficient number of bombs of the present type to enable her to destroy completely the major cities of Western Europe, should she feel compelled to do so.

The effects of the obvious vulnerability of Western Europe to Soviet atomic attack cannot be ignored. We in the United States speak glibly, under the terms of the Atlantic Pact, of coming to the aid of Western Europe if she is attacked by Russia. But can that, by any stretch of the imagination reassure the French, the Dutch, the Scandinavians and the British, who realize that should they become involved in a conflict against the Russians, their major cities will almost certainly be demolished during the first few weeks of war?

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Clearly the Truman-Acheson foreign policy, including the Atlantic Pact as it exists at the present time, is based upon the false assumption that only the United States will possess atomic bombs at the time of the outbreak of another war.

The vulnerability of Western Europe, relative to that of the United States, is brought about largely by the fact that at the present time Western Europe is within the range of Russian rockets and jet bombers, while the United States is not. Conversely, of course, certain cities in Russia are within range of jet bombers from Western Europe and the Middle East. For this reason, it is of the utmost importance to Russia that the United States be prevented from operating bases so close to her territory. It seems unlikely that the Soviet Union would hesitate for long, in the event of war, to use her bombs to make our bases inoperable. Should hostilities between the United States and Russia break out, Western Europe will have but two alternatives —immediate capitulation to the Russians or total destruction of her major cities.

The potential existence of the so-called hydrogen bomb makes the situation much more serious. To be sure, the hydrogen bomb will only serve to increase the vulnerability of a Western Europe which is already in an exceedingly dangerous position. But it will enormously increase the vulnerability of both the United States and Russia to extensive destruction. The United States in particular, with its heavy concentrations of industrial activity, will be exposed to an extent that few of us have dared to imagine possible.

At the present time, the vulnerability of the United States is concentrated at our coastlines. There we are vulnerable to atomic attack by submarine and long-range bombers. But long-range air attack over land is still sufficiently difficult, considering the efficiency of our defenses, to make it improbable (for the time being) that extensive damage to the interior of our country will take place. The development of the hydrogen bomb will seriously modify that situation. If an entire city the size of Chicago or greater New York can be destroyed by a single bomb, it will be important to a potential enemy to devise a suitable method of delivering that bomb safely and precisely. Cost and complexity will be no deterrents.

There will again, of course, be many Americans who will say, "We

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alone are able to build these bombs, for we alone possess sufficient technological 'know-how' to do so. All that we have to do in order to prevent the Russians from building such bombs is to tighten our secrecy." From the point of view of actual fact, we should not be too surprised if the Soviet scientists produced the hydrogen bomb first. It seems clear that for several years the Soviet scientists have been operating (quite understandably) at a wartime speed. By way of contrast, our own progress in new developments has certainly been much slower than it was during the war. One need point only to the fact that a very large percentage of the most famous physical scientists in America were employed on the bomb project during the war, and that almost none of these men is now in full-time employment with the Atomic Energy Commission. There are few scientists who would like to claim that our present rate of progress is more than one-tenth of what it was during the war. The reasons for this are many and varied: there has been a lack of imagination on the part of the present administrators of our projects; few scientists are willing to be confronted with the curtailment of freedom resulting from the excessive emphasis placed by some of our less intelligent members of Congress upon secrecy; a large proportion of the scientists who aided in the creation of the first bomb look upon further bomb development with dismay.

The hydrogen bomb is by no means a new concept. American scientists have recognized for many years that thermonuclear reactions can perhaps be started in the lighter elements. They have realized further that, should this prove to be feasible, weapons capable of destroying entire populations would be available. During the period when the Russians did not possess even ordinary atomic bombs, few scientists were willing to lend their efforts to the task of developing this new monstrosity. But following the first Russian atomic explosion some scientists became fearful that perhaps the Soviets were pushing forward with this new development. Those scientists who were most concerned recognized that they could not take upon themselves the decision to construct such a frightful weapon; clearly it must be the decision of the President of the United States. Some maintained that such a decision should only be made by the people themselves.

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The President, after consultation with advisers, ordered that work proceed at once on the development of the hydrogen bomb. He made his decision hurriedly, and, many of us believe, unwisely. Indeed, history may look back upon that decision, made as it was in the face of many constructive alternatives, as the most tragic ever made by man. It is difficult to believe that the President fully appreciated the enormous potentialities of the new weapon for eradicating life. The hydrogen bomb, if it works, can be used to destroy cities by the blast effect. When one considers that cities the size of New York, Paris and London could be destroyed by single explosions, it sounds horrible. But unfortunately the destructive potentiality of the hydrogen bomb does not stop there. If the bomb works at all, there may well be no upper limit (or at least a very high limit) to the size of the nuclear explosion that may be created. One might well ask, of what use is a bomb which will destroy an area greater than, say, 500 square miles, by its blast effect? The answer is that one would not use such a weapon to destroy by blast effect. Instead, one would utilize the radioactivity that could be produced by such an explosion, and permit the westerly winds to carry it over the enemy territory. If the hydrogen bomb works, technically speaking, it is easy to visualize a series of hydrogen bomb explosions carried out along a north-south line at about the longitude of Prague. The radioactivity produced by the explosions would be carried eastward by the winds, destroying all life within a strip 1500 miles wide, extending from Leningrad to Odessa, and 3000 miles deep, extending from Prague to the Ural Mountains. By the time the radioactivity passed the Urals (approximately three days), the intensity would be lower and the destruction would be less. By the time the Pacific had been crossed and the west coast of America reached, the radioactivity would not be dangerous.

Many human beings could survive such an attack by protecting themselves with shielding, and wearing gas masks to filter radioactive dust. But radioactivity is not specific against human beings. Animals and vegetation within the area would be destroyed. Such an attack would produce a "scorched earth" of an extent unprecedented in history.

The United States could be attacked in a similar manner. Hydro-

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gen bomb explosions could be set off on a north-south line in the Pacific approximately 1000 miles west of California. The radioactive dust would reach California in about a day, and New York in four or five days, killing most life as it traversed the continent.

In the face of these grave potentialities, Russia and the United States continue to prepare against the possibility of war. Neither nation wants war, but as long as a conflict between them is possible, each nation attempts to place itself in the position of winning the war, should it come. Clearly, the leaders of the two nations do not realize that the next war will be won by no nation. It will be lost by humanity and it will be won by death.

Some persons say that the hydrogen bomb will never be used. But can anyone doubt that the United States would use it if faced with defeat at the hands of the Russians? We pulverized Dresden and other German cities beyond the point of actual necessity. We destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic bombs when we were in no danger of defeat. Can we assume that Christian charity would suddenly enter our hearts if we were engaged in conflict with the Russians? Or can we assume that the Russians would refrain from using a weapon possessed of such decisiveness? Alexander Hamilton once said, "The passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint." In a war, there is no constraint.

The present impasse between the United States and Russia must be broken. The impasse was created by men. It seems difficult to believe that it cannot be broken by men. But it cannot be broken if every action is taken with the possibility of a future conflict in view. Nor can the impasse be broken if we fail to use our imagination and our ingenuity.

Is a general agreement with Russia possible? Such an agreement must offer Russia sufficient positive inducement to persuade her to accept conditions she is now opposed to—such as atomic energy control with inspection. Have we really done all that can be done to determine whether or not an agreement is possible? There are few persons who would say that we have. Until we do make a concerted effort to determine whether or not an agreement is possible, we have no moral right to proceed with the development of this new weapon.

It is shameful that many Americans of high standing have stated:

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"The hydrogen bomb is horrible. But in defense we must develop it before it is developed by the Russians." Few have asked, "What can we do in order to do away with mutual fear and mistrust, and to establish a world order that will make the development of the hydrogen bomb unnecessary? What can we do to bring about a peaceful co-existence of nations? What can we do that will create a situation within which enforceable world law may become a reality?"

The President of the United States has informed us that Russia is a totalitarian state and will not keep agreements. But there are growing multitudes of people who believe that our policy is being dominated by disastrous illusions. And their voices are crying out with increasing volume, "Have we really tried hard enough?"

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Incubus

Dan G. Hoffman

What did the caterpillars do
last time the Phoenix died?
They beat their breasts with a hundred fists
till one of them espied
the egg the ashes incubate.
Then, sure that wings would flame again,
they broke their bread on a mulberry leaf
and out of himself each wove the sheath
from which he'll burst on flaming wings
after the peace of a season's sleep,
after the peace of a season's sleep.

What did the little children do
when Christ was last time crucified?
Each hid beneath a mulberry wreath
and on one another spied.
For they were playing Prisoner's Base,
and as the teams hid face to face
the only thing that mattered much
was which was caught and which would catch
before the evening grew more dark,
before the earth and air grew dark.

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The Professor and the Prothonotary

Maurice Browning Cramer

"You ought to be a lighthouse keeper," said
His wife to a professor in a famous
Mid-city university last fall
When, faced with ninety-nine new students, he
Declared he sometimes wished they were not all
So keen to keep him up to snuff, so strong
In hundredfold insistence that he be
Profoundly erudite and accurate,
Invincible examination coach,
Impeccable in politics and wardrobe,
Untiring in philanthropy and wit,
Polite, theatrical and eloquent.
"Or firewarden on a northern forest tower.
There is your chance to watch the migrant birds:
The gold prothonotary fluttering south,
The white-crowned sparrow and the gray-cheeked thrush—
Their rapture of resistless flight, their wild
Serene alacrity." He shook his head.
"There's too much uproar in those jobs for me,"
He said. "What would I do, a Ph. D.,
When the wreck struck, or the flame leaped? I'd rather
Become a forest ranger stepping lightly,
Ever so lightly on the forest floor.

(*over*)

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I'd have a sack of acorns at my belt,
And every now and then, when I would cross
A dune too open to the wind and sun
(One of the wooded dunes of Michigan)
I'd reach into the sack, and stoop, and plant
An acorn softly in the forest mould—
Brown cup, green nut among the rotted leaves."
He spoke, and saw himself gliding along
In blue jeans and a flannel shirt alone
And silent under oak and hemlock boughs.
He felt his feet sink down in moss, in layer
On layer of yielding hemlock needles, brown
Of old and green of new, while overhead
Were redstarts and blackburnians. But his wife
Laughed. "Who would pay you to do that?" she asked.

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The Loyalty Oath at the University of California

Max Radin

THE University of California is a great university, great in achievement. That it is also great in size is only so far relevant that anything which impairs its usefulness affects adversely in any particular year forty thousand or more students, and may affect many more thousands who in the future will become students.

Again, the University of California, because of its size and importance, has a certain exemplary position. Its splendid growth has furthered higher education throughout the country. Its deterioration would cause a corresponding setback to the progress of education everywhere.

For these reasons, the difficulty that has arisen between the Regents of that university and the Faculty is not a local and special thing involving merely a particular issue or a particular institution. It is something in which educated Americans have an immediate and sharp concern.

On March 25, 1949, it was proposed to the Regents that all the members of the Faculty be required to take an "oath of loyalty." This oath contained two parts, of which the first was an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California. To this was added a rather elaborate declaratory oath asserting that the affiant was not a Communist or associated or connected with ideas or enterprises that could render his loyalty doubtful. This at any rate was the substance of the somewhat vaguely worded proposal.

When this requirement was presented to the Northern Section

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(Berkeley, San Francisco, Davis) of what is called the "Academic Senate"—which is roughly equivalent to members of the Faculty with three years or more of service—it roused immediate and strong opposition. A Senate committee was appointed to confer with the President. A revised form of oath was apparently agreed on between them. On June 24, this form was accepted by the Regents.

It was and is the belief of the great majority of the Faculty present at the original meeting that the committee was not authorized to do more than report back to the Senate and was not empowered to accept, on behalf of the Faculty, any proposal. Throughout the summer of 1949, the subject of the oath was discussed publicly and privately with great vehemence. Since most of the Faculty were away, it was determined that the matter should be laid before the Senate at the first fall meeting.

In the meantime, a new faculty committee met with a committee of the Regents on September 29 and 30, and a new revision—slightly different from that of June 24—was framed. This was unanimously rejected by the Northern Section on November 7. A second conference between committees of the Faculty and the Regents took place on January 4, 1950. The representatives of the Faculty declared themselves willing to take the Constitutional oath. They further assured the Regents that all efforts would be made to prevent unfit persons from becoming members of the teaching body; and, in the opinion of nearly all the Faculty, Communists would be unfit persons. But both the committee and the entire Faculty with unprecedented unanimity declared the taking of any oath except the Constitutional one could not be made a condition of employment. The Regents refused to withdraw the requirement of the oath.

Matters came to a head recently when the Regents by a vote of twelve to six—six members being absent—voted that the Faculty would be given until April 30 to sign the oath, and that those who failed to sign would be dismissed. The Northern Section of the Academic Senate at their meeting of March 7, 1950, voted unanimously—about 900 being present—that they would not sign.

The issue is thus sharply raised. It is hard to see how it can be solved except by one side or the other yielding. A face-saving formula of compromise is difficult to imagine.

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XIV THOMAS T. HEINE (*b.* 1867): THROUGH DARKEST GERMANY: THE LIBERTY OF SCIENCE

The oath which the Regents say the Faculty must take or be dismissed, and which all but a few of the Faculty say they will not take, is as follows:

> . . . I am not a member of the Communist Party, or under any oath, or a party to any agreement, or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath.

All who are familiar with the composition of such formulas know that all that is said here is a four times repeated asseveration that the swearer is not a Communist. But what is wrong with it is obviously

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not its absurdly inflated phraseology. It is fundamentally bad in what it implies about the relation of the Regents to the Faculty, and to the people of the State of California, who are the beneficiaries of the trust which by the State Constitution is put under their fostering care.

For the Regents of the University of California are in a special legal position. They constitute a corporation created, not by the Legislature, but by the Constitution. There are twenty-four members. Eight are ex officio, but have full voting powers. Of these eight, four are elective officers, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Two are appointed by the Governor for set terms, generally overlapping his own, the President of the Mechanics' Institute and the President of the Board of Agriculture. The other ex-officio members are the President of the University and the President of the Alumni Association, an annual office.

Besides these, there are sixteen members appointed by the Governor for staggered terms of sixteen years. It is highly unlikely that as many as half of these will be appointed in any one governor's term. These appointive Regents—who serve without compensation—are generally selected from groups in the upper income brackets. There are usually among them a number of bankers, industrialists and successful lawyers. There has never been a labor representative on the board nor a real "dirt-farmer" or "small business" man. And only rarely has there been anyone who has had actual experience as a member of an academic faculty.

It is important to have this picture of the Regents before us. The elective ex-officio members rarely attend the meetings. Most of the work is in the hands of the appointive members, who have long terms, who cannot be removed except by impeachment, and whose position and powers could not be changed by any act of legislature.

One thing is certain. No one of these gentlemen has any personal axe to grind or any selfish interest to serve by being a member of the Regents. But it is equally true that only a few of them have any adequate understanding of what the nature of a university is and how it differs from, let us say, Republic Steel or General Motors. Mr. James K. Moffitt of the Crocker National Bank, who till recently

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was a Regent, and the late Chester Rowell of the *San Francisco Chronicle* were outstanding exceptions. Their absence is keenly felt. Other men of the same quality are now serving on the Board. They are, one must regretfully note, a minority.

The evidence of this lack of understanding is the plaintive cry that any loyal person should be glad to assert his freedom from membership in a Communist organization—which, by definition, is an association of disloyal persons, who prefer the welfare of the Soviet Union to that of the United States, at a time when the hostility of the Soviet government to us is open and vociferous. Can there be any harm in requiring him to swear that this is so? And how does this affect his freedom of research?

A specific answer even to this last question is given at large in Mr. Julian Huxley's book *Heredity East and West* (1949), where the final steps of a progress are described which began with a slight governmental interference with research. But these final steps can be temporarily kept out of sight. It is the immediate harm involved which concerns us here and now.

To ask any person to declare that he has not committed a specific wrongful act carries an implication that he is suspected. To suspect a man without adequate reason is intolerably offensive, and to offend gratuitously a group of scholars and scientists whose presence and whose rank and accomplishments are the only evidence the Regents can offer to prove that they are performing their Constitutional duty, is something which, one would say, could not be done by grown men who have reflected on what they were doing.

The Regents do not say that they suspect any considerable number of the Faculty of being Communists or, to use their own tortuous phrases, of being under an oath or agreement or commitment in conflict with their obligation not to be a Communist. They do not say they suspect any single member of the Faculty. If they did, and had some evidence to support their suspicion, there is disciplinary machinery now in existence which they could use. And if they had no evidence, but merely suspected, after the all too prevalent fashion of rumor built on rumor piled up on gossip and slander, the most nervously suspicious of them surely is not so naïve as to suppose that the requirement of an oath which says "I am not a Communist, and

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indeed and indeed and indeed I am not a Communist," will prevent his suspect from retaining his place on the Faculty.

And that brings us to another point which makes the action of the Regents almost incomprehensible. Those Regents who defend their action, not always consistently, nor always accurately, nor always temperately, harp on the fact that Communists on the teaching staff could do dangerously harmful things, whether they are associated with atomic research or not. No doubt. But since it is demonstrable that Communists would not hesitate to take such an oath and have not hesitated to take it, the relevance of this defense—it is in fact the only defense offered—is not apparent.

One very real, but perhaps unconscious, reason for the action of the Regents must after all be the failure already mentioned to understand the nature of a university community. In legal contemplation, the members of the Faculty are employees of the Regents, a corporation. They make contracts with the corporation. They assume duties. They draw pay. Being employees, they will be so good as to do what they are told, or cease to be employees. That is what happens in the Army, the Navy, and in every well-regulated corporately organized business.

I feel certain that this was not consciously and articulately uttered by even the most authoritarian of the Regents. But it lurks in the minds of some of them, lurks with sufficient tenacity to add itself to other reasons, as little acknowledged as this one, and turn the scale in favor of the present unfortunate and, it may be, disastrous decision.

Of these other reasons, the least respectable is the one occasionally heard, the reason of fear. It is declared that the Legislature was about to impose an even more drastic oath on the Faculty. There is evidence that the Legislature had no such intention. It is certain it had no Constitutional power to do it. And the suggestion that the Legislature would threaten the Regents with refusing their budget is a suggestion often made, never substantiated and quite improbable.

And, above all, if it were a fact that this was threatened, obviously the Regents could not more finely and nobly carry out their high trust, than by combating with all their force, power and authority, such an open usurpation on the part of a governmental body in a field which by the State Constitution is to be kept forever free from gov-

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ernmental interference. In such a cause, the Regents would find themselves supported by an overwhelming public opinion. And they would win.

If the Regents really carry out their threat to dismiss on May 1, all who have not taken the oath—a matter still uncertain when this is being written—the question will be taken to the Courts. There are a number of issues involved. One is that of academic tenure. In California, there is special difficulty created by the case in the State Supreme Court, the *Communist Party* v. *Peek* (20 Cal. [2nd] 536, 127 Pac [2nd] 889 [July, 1942]), which declares that the Communist Party could not be outlawed by name, and uses language that might be applicable to this university situation.

An even more serious difficulty is that the Constitution of the State, for exactly one hundred years before this issue arose, has had a provision, not often referred to, but unmistakably intended as an integral part. After setting forth the oath to the two Constitutions which every officer shall take, it goes on to say (Article XX, Section 3):

> And no other oath, declaration or test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

Whether by definition, the term "office or public trust" includes the position of a member of the Faculty of the State University could be a question of chopping and paring and refining and adjusting of verbal symbols. But surely no one who can read can doubt the general purpose of the Constitutional inhibition. The founders of the state seemed to be of the opinion that a simple oath to support the Constitution was a sufficient guaranty of good faith and loyalty, and that it could be impaired but not strengthened by additional stout swearing.

This and other Constitutional questions cannot be enlarged on here. The final answer—the only authoritative answer—will be given by the courts, if it comes to them, as we all devoutly hope will not be the case. But in view of what the Faculty has said, in view of what mass meetings of students have announced, long before the courts will have reached a decision, the Regents may well find themselves in a position of being the governing body of a rump-University, stripped of its ablest men, supported rebelliously and resent-

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fully by those who must keep their positions or lose their livelihood, and disturbed by a constant tumult of a protesting student body.

In any case, great mischief has already been done. In the minds of most of the Faculty, a feeling of profound resentment has been engendered. It is an affront to the personal dignity of any self-respecting man to be told peremptorily: "Swear you are not a liar and a potential traitor, or go." The notion that all scientists and scholars are solitary searchers who lock themselves in their laboratories or studies and there, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot," pursue their investigations without being aware of what is going on without, is an old but quite outmoded stereotype. There are such men. In more than half a century of contact with academic persons, I have met a few, but very few. The vast majority of scholars and scientists are whole men. They think and feel with their whole mind, not with a special machinery in their brain that can be turned on or off. An affront does not impinge on a slight emotional center that can be isolated without affecting the rest of their activities. Under the pressure of such action as that of the Regents, they could not work at their full capacity, even if they made a determined effort to do so.

It must be evident that this will be a permanent status in whatever will be left of the University, if the Regents persist in their present attitude. And we may go further. If the Regents simply drop the matter, it is not likely that the distrust and resentment created will be dispelled. Only public and frank recognition, by the Regents themselves, of their error will clear the air and re-establish confidence between the Faculty and the University's governing body.

It is only proper to list the names of the six Regents who voted against the requirement. They are the following: Mr. Farnham Griffiths of Berkeley and San Francisco, Mr. Victor R. Hansen of Los Angeles, Mr. Earl J. Fenston of Fresno (all successful lawyers of high standing); Mr. Edward H. Heller, an investment broker of San Francisco, and, finally, Governor Earl Warren and the President of the University, Robert G. Sproul.

The opposition of the last two, of course, is especially noteworthy. Governor Warren further made a statement indicating the reasons of his disapproval. One of the Regents voting with the majority asserted in a newspaper statement that President Sproul was the person

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who originally proposed the oath. Whether that is so or not, he is definitely against it at present. In his twenty years at the head of the University, President Sproul has, more widely and deeply than most University presidents, established close and cordial personal relations with the Faculty. One may state with assurance that even if his judgment on the advisability of the oath were still contrary to that of the majority of the Faculty, he would yield his opinion to theirs rather than imperil the integrity of the University which he has served with such energy and success.

The integrity of the University is injured when intellectual freedom is so much as threatened. This freedom is not merely a matter of being permitted to think and speak and write as one pleases. Its essence rests in a condition which is not even faintly apprehended by some, at least, of the defenders of the Regents' action. What it requires is an atmosphere where there is no sense of fear or constraint, no shadow of a Kommissar. When men engaged in intellectual pursuits, who have never given anyone the slightest reason for doubting their loyalty as citizens, are told that each year they may not go about their tasks until they have made a public protestation of their loyalty, the atmosphere is poisoned and full intellectual freedom ends.

The first qualification for the position of Regent of a university should be that he shall learn to understand this much about intellectual freedom.

* * *

The foregoing was written on March 15. Since that time certain striking developments have occurred. In a postal ballot, an overwhelming number of the Faculty, more than ten to one, voting anonymously, expressed their disapproval of the oath. By a somewhat smaller majority, about four to one, they agreed to note the Regents' decision to employ no Communists but expressed neither approval nor disapproval of that policy. Nonetheless, the Regents, in their meeting of March 31 at Santa Barbara, by a vote of ten to ten refused to rescind their resolution of March 7.

This roused renewed opposition, headed in this instance by some of the most conservative members of the Faculty and a number of deans and heads of departments. The composition of the Regents

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had somewhat changed. Because of the death of one Regent and the expiration of the terms of two others, the Governor was able to make three appointments. One was the secretary of the State Federation of Labor (AFL), Mr. Cornelius Haggerty, who thus became the first labor representative on the Board. Another was Mr. Jesse Steinhart, a prominent San Francisco lawyer. Both these gentlemen voted for rescission. The Governor, however, also reappointed Mr. L. M. Giannini of the Bank of America, one of the most uncompromising opponents of any qualification in the position of the Regents.

Through the mediation of an alumni committee what has been called a compromise was proposed to the Regents at their meeting at Davis on April 21. By a vote of twenty to one—Mr. Giannini being the sole dissenter—it was voted that only the constitutional oath would be demanded, but that the Faculty would be required by May 15 to sign a contract to which would be appended a statement that the signer is "not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force or violence and that he has no commitments in conflict with his responsibilities with respect to impartial scholarship and the free pursuit of truth." He further accepts the signing of this statement as a condition of employment.

The Faculty in an informal meeting indicated that although a majority agreed to this as a temporary arrangement, a great many, more than two hundred and fifty, including some distinguished names, would refuse to sign this contract. Under the Regents' resolution they would have the right of review and a hearing by the Faculty Committee on Privileges and Tenure. The Regents declared that the report of the Committee must be made by June 15, which, if there are several hundred cases, is practically impossible.

Evidently this "compromise" is not a solution, but merely postpones decision. If those who refuse to sign are dismissed, whatever the report of the Committee, the issue will be more or less as it was. One of the important legal questions will still require the determination of the courts. In an unfortunate sense, there is a real compromise. The standing of the University will be seriously compromised and academic freedom substantially impaired.

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The Government Loyalty Program

L. A. Nikolorić

ESTABLISHED by the President's Executive Order 9835 in March, 1947, the government's loyalty program moves into its fourth year. The program presents a complex problem: whether, in the name of "loyalty" and "national security," our society is justified in abusing most of the basic tenets of Anglo-American jurisprudence and legal philosophy traditional since the seventeenth century.

The purpose of the program is not to discharge employees expressly because of what they have done in the past. President Truman has stated that it is aimed at "potentially disloyal" persons who, because of attitudes and ideas they entertain today or subscribed to yesterday, might in the future undertake action contrary to the best interests of the United States. The basic concept of the program—to ferret out the "potentially disloyal"—violates a most important principle of Anglo-American law: that one cannot be punished for merely considering the commission of a crime, or for thinking in such a way that a body determines that one might undertake action contrary to the law.

The program also violates judicial safeguards against punishment which are traditional in free societies. The rights to have a reasonable notice of charges, to cross-examine and confront one's accusers, to judicial review before punishment is meted out, to be judged by an impartial tribunal—these are, among others, eliminated from the program.

The loyalty program also distorts the concept of equal justice under the law. It assumes that a democratic government may exact from its employees special standards of conduct wholly offensive to constitutional guarantees of freedom and justice as applied to ordi-

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nary citizens. We deny two and a half million government employees political and intellectual freedoms in order to protect ourselves from the potentially subversive.

These innovations are spreading not only to some three and a half million state and local employees (the County of Los Angeles, among other local governments, has instituted a loyalty check), but elsewhere. The AFL and the CIO have undertaken to purge the Communists. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force pass on the loyalty of the employees of private contractors who bid successfully on government jobs having to do with classified material. Congressmen have urged that all employees working for industries connected with the national security be subjected to a similar screening. Presumably this concerns the various utilities—in steel, automobile, transportation and others. Teachers and scientists have been discharged for entertaining unpopular ideas. Even veterans' organizations have pledged themselves to loyalty programs. The most liberal of these, the American Veterans Committee, has adopted resolutions directing its officers to purge the Communists.

Since we are rapidly accepting the proposition that American institutions have a right to examine their membership on the basis of their "loyalty," it is appropriate to determine what the government's loyalty program is and how it operates, its ideology, and the concrete effects of its operation.

Pursuant to the President's Executive Order, the Federal Bureau of Investigation makes a routine check on every government employee or applicant for employment. When preliminary information indicates that a more detailed search would be desirable, thorough dossiers are compiled, and reports incorporating the results are forwarded to the agency or civil service regional commission with jurisdiction over the employee involved.

Each federal agency has established a Loyalty Board to receive these reports. Since the reports merely recite the findings of the FBI, each Board has the duty to determine whether further action is necessary. If such action is decided upon, the Board issues charges against the employee. The employee must answer the charges under oath and in writing. He may also, at his option, obtain a hearing before the Board.

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If the Board is not satisfied with the written answer or hearing, it will enter a finding reciting that the employee is unfit for government employment. The employee may take two appeals—one to the agency head and a final one to a Loyalty Review Board. This latter Board, in addition to constituting the last recourse of the employee, is also charged with supervision of the entire program. No provision is made for judicial review.

The so-called "sensitive" agencies, the Department of Defense, the State Department, and the Atomic Energy Commission, are empowered by Congress to fire arbitrarily an employee when such action is thought to be in the public interest.

The discovery of the potentially disloyal is no easy task. Executive Order 9835 directs the Boards to take action if

> . . . on the basis of all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal.

It is, therefore, the duty of the Boards to determine the existence of a nebulous state of mind which might lead an employee to commit in the future a disloyal act, either willfully or through an indiscretion. The most important elements of consideration are of necessity the employee's political beliefs, the organizations to which he has belonged, and the associations he has had.

Experience proves that it is not necessary for the employee to have been a member of either a Communist or Fascist organization. He will be found wanting if he has been "sympathetic" to communism or fascism, friendly to persons or organizations that are sympathetic, associated with such persons or organizations, or even "unduly talkative" in the presence of persons who are associated with sympathetic persons. The Boards do not find it necessary to prove any of these matters. They are required only to find "a reasonable doubt."

In order to assist the Boards, the Attorney General, in December, 1947, and by various supplements, designated some 150 organizations —membership in or sympathy for which is held to be indicative of disloyalty. These lists were promulgated without hearings. No explanation for the inclusion of any organization was given.

The procedural safeguards fundamental to a fair trial or hearing have been spelled out on many occasions by the Supreme Court.

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These standards * are:

1. There must be an impartial judge or jury.
2. The accused must be permitted representation by counsel.
3. The charges must be clear and stated with particularity so that the accused is clearly informed.
4. The law which the accused is alleged to have broken must have been passed before he committed the act.
5. There must be confrontation of the accusers and the right of cross-examination.
6. The accused is protected against self-incrimination.
7. There may be no double-jeopardy.
8. There may be no cruel or unusual punishment.

Such safeguards are not available to an employee charged with potential disloyalty. The generalities employed in loyalty charges are demonstrated by a typical example:

> You are charged with having associated with Communists or with persons or organizations in sympathy with communism.

Although the order provides that the employee is entitled to a charge stating the offense with some particularity, this is limited by the discretion of the agency in the interest of security considerations. Practice has shown that it has been almost impossible for an employee or his lawyer to secure a full or complete statement of the offenses.

Defending against such charges is difficult. The burden is placed on the employee to recall all the persons with whom, and organizations with which, he has ever been in contact, and to explain them. He must also prove affirmatively that he adheres to certain nebulous standards that might be construed by the Board as indicative of so loyal a state of mind that the employee will never commit a disloyal act.

The following quotation demonstrates the position in which an employee finds himself. In this case, Mr. A was faced with an unexplained action of the State Department in dismissing him "for security reasons." A asked the Board to tell him what he had done to justify

* Taken from *U. S.* v. *Lovett* (1946), opinion of Mr. Justice Black.

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the action, so that he might defend himself. The Board representative said:

> Well, we realize the difficulty you are in, in this position; on the other hand, I'd suggest that you might think back over your own career and perhaps in your own mind delve into some of the factors that have gone into your career which you think might have been subject to question and see what they are and see whether you'd like to explain or make any statement with regard to any of them. . . .

The case of B is also typical. B was charged with "associating with persons in sympathy with communism." B's lawyer asked the department Board for a list of the persons. The department gave the names of three persons—of whom B knew only one, and him slightly. Counsel made an additional request and received six more names, of which B did know two. At the hearing B was met with four more names and was unprepared to make an adequate defense.

Even when names and organizations are specified, the employee is not told what is wrong with the alleged associate. Again defense is difficult. The process which ties in the accused with the associate is also used to tar the associate. For example, C was charged with associating with ten persons. C was closely associated with only one of them. Not only was C faced with the job of clearing himself, but in order to "purify" his association, found it necessary also to present long testimony in his associate's behalf.

In this connection, even the Boards themselves are not told by the FBI the source of derogatory information. It is, therefore, impossible even for them to weigh the evidence. This is revealed by the hearing of D before a Board at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The FBI had designated its informants to the Board by symbols, "T-1, T-2, etc."

The following colloquy took place:

> Board Member: Did you ever act as an organizer for the Communist Party or attempt to recruit others?
> D: No.
> B M: [It] has been corroborated, checked and verified—
> Attorney for D: By whom?
> B M: I can't tell you. . . . We don't even know who the accuser is.

Nor are the accusations made under oath. The following took

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place during an appeal hearing before the Review Board. In reply to counsel's questions, asking whether the statements of the accusers were sworn, and also the identity of the accusers, the Chairman replied:

> I don't think so. . . . I haven't the slightest knowledge as to who they were. . . .

The employee is not tried by an impartial judge. The Board accusing him conducts the inquiry, questions the employee, and renders judgment.

There is no confrontation of the persons who have given derogatory reports to the FBI. Nor has the employee any right to cross-examine the informer. These rights are denied under the theory that they might dry up sources of information. The Chairman of the Review Board, Mr. Seth Richardson, has stated:

> We have concluded that the objection to confrontation and no cross-examination, which are important, is not essentially controlling.

Examples of double jeopardy occur when a provisional employee (over whom the Civil Service Commission has concurrent jurisdiction with the employing agency) is charged with disloyalty. For example, E was charged and cleared by a Civil Service Commission Board. Thereafter, the Army, by whom E was employed, instituted new proceedings on the same charges.

The proper presentation of an appeal is complicated by the order's requirement that Boards "shall state merely the action taken." It is impossible to tell what evidence the Board relied on, what findings of fact it made (other than the result), or even if all of its evidence was revealed to the employee. For that reason, there is no way to specify in what respects the lower Board was in error.

None of these things could happen in any other court or board proceeding directed against an individual in the United States. Axis Sally and Judith Coplon, who were charged with overt acts of treason and espionage, have received more procedural protection than is accorded the potentially disloyal. A common pickpocket may insist on every traditional and fundamental safeguard. A government em-

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ployee may not. No one would dream of indicting Axis Sally for merely contemplating broadcasting Nazi propaganda; we would not consider putting a petty thief in jail for thinking about picking his neighbor's pocket. Yet we discharge and publicly smear government employees who have done nothing wrongful, who may not consider committing an act of disloyalty. We fire them because, on the basis of standards of the status quo, the Board suspects that they might do so in the future.

Those who would defend the program argue that the government is not required to secure to its employees procedural safeguards when it fires them. It is said that no citizen has an inherent right to government employment. Thus the government may fire arbitrarily—because it does not like the color of the employee's hair, because he is inefficient, or because the government fears that the employee may become a security risk. The procedural safeguards that are provided —charges and a hearing—are a matter of the sovereign's largess. They do not accrue to the employee as a matter of constitutional right. Therefore, the employee may not ask for other safeguards as a matter of constitutional right.

The opponents have a convincing case. Many judges, notably Mr. Justice Black, have argued that once having been hired, a government employee does secure a vested interest in his job which shall not be taken from him without cause. Cause may not be a matter of speculation; it must be a reality—such as inefficiency or overt acts of disloyalty.

Furthermore, a dismissal for disloyalty entails a permanent brand amounting to treason. Experience has shown that an employee who has been discharged under the loyalty program is unable to get another job; his career is ruined; he loses the respect of the community. Dismissal on loyalty or security grounds transcends the arbitrary right to fire. It amounts to punishment by government, which is protected by the Constitution. If this be the case, an employee who is fired on these grounds does have the constitutional right to traditional due process and safeguards.

Regardless of the coldly legal interpretation of the situation, it is obvious that a loyalty proceeding is a serious matter. On moral grounds, the government should not ruin an employee's career on a

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conjectural determination that he may in the future become disloyal. It must be remembered that the loyalty program was not designed or intended to punish people who have committed overt acts of disloyalty or treason. Not an employee fired has been charged with the commission of a wrongful act. During a recent public discussion with me, Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, stated that the loyalty program has not discovered a single instance of espionage or any other overt action contrary to the best interests of the United States.

There are innumerable statutes calculated to deal with persons who are or have been acting contrary to our best interests. They include sanctions against espionage, sabotage, treason or advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force. More important to the inquiry here, any government agency may fire an employee for cause. "Cause" includes everything from simple inefficiency to disagreement with the agency's policy. Every applicant for government employment must sign, under oath, a statement that he does not subscribe to subversive doctrines and does not belong to any organization that does. Failure to make full disclosure is punishable as a criminal offense.

If we are to commit ourselves to a program that is (at least in moral, and probably in constitutional terms) repugnant to traditional jurisprudence, it is only fair to evaluate the reasons for calling such a program into being, the resulting ideology, and the results in practical terms.

The program was instituted for two major reasons. The first was political. In March, 1947, when the order was signed, the future of the Democratic Party was not bright. One of the principal issues on which the Republicans had won the off-year election of 1946 was that the Administration had been lax in permitting spies and subversives to infiltrate into government. It became politically expedient for the Democrats to take positive steps to appear diligent in the matter of Communists.

The second reason is the more important. It is our fear of Russia and the ideology of communism. The War left Russia the only power capable of arguing with our new role in world leadership. We are afraid of Russia's military power and fearful of the conse-

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quences to society as a whole in the event of a test of strength employing frightening new weapons. We therefore justify stringent methods to root out of government actual or potential Communist agents and spies.

Perhaps even more important (we have before been faced with threatening world powers) is our fear of the Communist ideology. The Communists have promised the world that capitalism will collapse of its own weight and inefficiencies. England, France and other traditionally capitalist countries are making concessions to various government controls. We are doing the same thing. Even in great prosperity, our governmental and private economic bureaucracies, unwieldy and frozen, are unable to feed, clothe and house our people with relative adequacy. The prediction of the Communists makes us uneasy. This is particularly true because we have come to think of Communists as supermen—more clever and efficient than we. In spite of the fact that communism has never been more unpopular in America, we have never been more apprehensive of the scrubby little group of fanatics who straggle up Eighth Avenue in New York on May Day.

These fears are not clearly defined. We are suspicious of change. Confusion is added from the semantic designation of both communism and so-called liberalism as "left-wing." To many the two are synonymous. Hence, to find a potentially disloyal American, find a man who expresses dissatisfaction with the established order of things—a man who believes in racial equality, socialized medicine, labor unions, equalization of economic opportunity, or increased government activity in economic affairs—particularly if the believer is not of Anglo-American stock. These things are "left-wing"; so is communism. *A fortiori*, a man who believes in them may become in the future a Communist agent.

Witness the following excerpts from transcripts of various Boards:

1. Q. Was your father native born?
   A. Yes.
   Q. How about his father?
   A. Yes.
   Q. Your mother, was she native born?
   A. Yes.
   Q. How about her parents?

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A. Yes.

2. Q. Have you ever had Negroes in your home?

3. Q. How large a unit do you have supervision over?

A. Approximately twenty people right now.

Q. Any difference in color?

A. Not at the present time . . . all white. We have had a colored man in other years.

Q. Professional or clerical?

A. Professional.

4. Q. Are you in favor of the Marshall Plan?

5. Q. There is a suspicion in the record that you are in sympathy with the underprivileged. Is this true?

6. Q. Did you see X soliciting funds for strikers?

7. Q. In your recollection, do you recall ever discussing any topic which might be sympathetic to Communist doctrine?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you care to state what it was and who it was made to?

A. I have been sick for years, and so I have discussed what they call nationalized medicine.

8. Q. Did you ever hear any political discussions at X's home?

9. Q. Did you ever attend any political forums at X's home?

10. Q. Are your friends and associates intelligent, clever?

11. Q. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

A. I never became a member of the Communist Party.

Q. If you are, as you say, a loyal American, why do you persist in denying that you were a member of the Communist Party?

In fairness, it must be stated that these questions are taken out of context. This does not, however, disprove the obvious interest of the Boards in these matters. In every hearing I have attended, these or similar questions have been asked. These questions are not unusual or the exception; they are routine. The point is that the subject matter of this type of inquiry is completely relevant if the purpose of the program to ferret out the potentially disloyal is kept in mind. There is no other way to make a judgment of *potential* disloyalty than to examine a man's associations and attitudes toward matters of controversy, to determine whether that man is wedded to the established order of things or will work toward change.

Thus the potentially disloyal of necessity becomes the non-conformist. The following cases are typical. All were thought worthy of Board action. No effort has been made to pick out "dramatic" examples. Each one is routine; those in which the employee was dismissed are indicated.

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In 1942 F was a history student and became interested in Communist philosophy and method. For a period of some four weeks F attended a few cell meetings in his college town. He does not recall whether he signed any petitions or other papers, but may have made a contribution of approximately a dollar and a half. He rejected what he found, and since then has been, if anything, anti-Communist. He is active in the Americans for Democratic Action, an organization which is outspoken in its opposition to communism. He belongs to no other political organizations. Since this period of four weeks, eight years ago, this man has never associated with Communists or expressed any sympathy for the doctrine. No other charges were made. F was discharged.

G is a woman who was born in Russia. During the Revolution she escaped and has never returned. Her mother and father were shot by the Communists; her brother "disappeared" in Siberia. G was charged with undue sympathy for Russia. Although no other evidence or reason appears in the transcript of G's hearing, she was fired.

H was a civilian employee in Japan. A conference was held to discuss ways to break up a black market in agricultural products. H suggested as a solution that, in distributing fertilizers to farmers, it be required that the farmers market a certain percentage of their produce through occupation authorities. The senior officer at the conference accused H of being a Communist, since the suggestion sounded as though he were opposed to free enterprise. Shortly thereafter, the employee was relieved and sent back to the United States to defend a loyalty charge because of this incident.

I was charged with disloyalty because an associate reported to an FBI agent that his mother-in-law was pro-Russian.

J was charged because it was reported that he had been "critical" of the policies of our Ambassador to Russia.

K is a scientist who had an acquaintance in college whom he had not seen for over fifteen years. The acquaintance was named a defendant in a proceeding involving alleged Communists. In answer to an appeal made to most of his classmates, K contributed some money to his friend's defense. Although this acquaintance was fully acquitted, K was charged with disloyalty. The agency board found against K, but was reversed on appeal.

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Miss L spent one afternoon collecting money for Russian War Relief in front of a movie house. She also was instrumental in having Senators Ball and Pepper talk to the people of her city concerning the necessity of accepting Russia as an ally. These events took place in 1943, when the Russians were bearing much of the brunt of the war. Miss L also did Red Cross work, collected money and knitted sweaters for British, French and Russian War Relief. Since the war, she has frequently expressed herself as an anti-Communist and as favoring such Communist-denounced programs as the Marshall Plan and Universal Military Training. She was charged on these facts as being disloyal.

M married a girl who, ten years before, as a sophomore in college, had been a member of the Young Communist League. The YCL in her school was almost exclusively interested in low-cost dormitory facilities and in higher pay for scholarship jobs. Mrs. M resigned from the YCL after six or eight months, and it was not alleged that she since has been in any way connected with communism. Charges were filed against M.

Not included in these examples is a tremendous number of cases involving mistaken identity. These are important to document slipshod methods to which the underlying fears and ideology have driven the Boards and the FBI. This is an example of the kind that occurs with alarming frequency:

N was accused of being a member, along with his wife, of a Communist cell in the Bronx, New York, in 1934. N was not married in 1934; has never been in the Bronx, New York; and, in fact, was not even in the United States in 1934.

An analogous case showing slipshod investigation involves another employee who had been a member of a veterans' organization in the early 1920's. His Post Commander ordered him to "infiltrate" the Workers Alliance to see how the Communists operated. The employee did so and filed a lengthy report, for which he received a commendation. Twenty-five years later, he was charged with disloyalty because of his association with the Alliance.

These cases indicate that the program has accomplished little in the way of security. Figures issued by the Review Board prove this. Ninety-seven persons, out of about two and a half million employees

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investigated, have been discharged on loyalty grounds. In only 2,037 cases have the Boards found—on their own standards—facts sufficient to justify the kind of charges described above. Of the ninety-seven persons discharged, not a single one has done anything to warrant the interest of the Department of Justice. In no case has a criminal proceeding for espionage, treason or any lesser act of disloyalty been instituted.

A troublesome question is whether the loyalty program should be retained in the so-called "sensitive" agencies—the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Defense, and the State Department. Dr. Klaus Fuchs has done much for the proponents of the argument that in these areas, at least, we must examine employees for potential disloyalty because of the greater dangers involved.

My own view is a minority one. The proponents of the "sensitive agency" argument assume that this program is capable of catching the potentially disloyal. Even if we had the necessary instruments to accomplish this, I believe that if free institutions are to survive, they cannot be compromised in this way. A citizen in the Atomic Energy Commission should not be subjected to arbitrary treatment merely because his contribution is the more sensitive. Once the scientist or State Department official becomes a second class citizen, he will not be alone in this classification for long; he will be joined by the employee who deals in foreign trade and commerce, the expert whose concern is labor in the defense industries, and government men who deal with education and health—all fields fertile for sabotage or infiltration.

But the record speaks for itself. The loyalty program has proved to be a miserable failure as far as security is concerned. It has found no spies or security violations in sensitive areas or otherwise. Nor is it geared to; it is geared to accomplish the impossible—determine who tomorrow's spies will be. Let the FBI attend to the business of sabotage and espionage on the basis of the actual, not the potential—on the basis of acts, not possibilities. Let every agency continue to screen applicants for employment carefully; but let us not, in our fear of the police state, compromise free institutions.

The atmosphere in government is one of fear—fear of ideas and of irresponsible and unknown informers. Government employees are

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afraid to attend meetings of politically minded groups; they are afraid to read "liberal" publications; they screen their friends carefully for "left-wing" ideas. Government employees are in very real danger of dying intellectually and politically. Everyone knows of someone who has been accused of disloyalty—and it amounts to an accusation of treason—on ridiculous charges. Nobody wants to go through a lengthy "loyalty" investigation. The inclination and inevitable result are simply to restrict one's own freedoms.

All Americans suffer thereby. Political growth and progressive evolution depend on a vital and enthusiastic corps of government workers. Democracy can survive only upon the condition of a constant flexibility in its institutions to meet growing social and economic needs. Good government incorporates varying shades of opinion into a synthesis of action in behalf of the greatest good. Synthesis and flexibility are impossible when dissenters or the unorthodox are ruthlessly stamped out. The suppression of opposition can only mean the retention of outmoded and useless institutions, the impossibility of compromise and adjustment.

History has demonstrated again and again that freedom and the maturity of democratic processes cannot survive when the politically and economically dominant suspend traditional safeguards to the unorthodox. This is true, regardless of whether the suspension is undertaken because of fear of outside forces, or whether it is because a society has frozen in its evolutionary progress toward the fuller dignity of man. Surely it cannot be said that the United States, entering into a period of world leadership and enjoying the greatest prosperity in our history, has ceased growing. Let us not through hysteria and the uncertainty engendered by new responsibilities abdicate the basic standards of freedom which made us great. This is what we have done in the government's loyalty program; and this is what we threaten to do in the extension of that program to other segments of our society.

In the Autumn number, MORRIS ERNST *will present a differing opinion on the loyalty program—not as an answer to Mr. Nikolorić, but as an independent analysis of the situation. We hope to be able to present in succeeding numbers still other points of view on the subject.*—EDITOR.

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If I Could Hear the Ram's Horn Call

Hillel Frimet

If I could be alone to grieve,
alone to kneel and rise a mother,
to bear, to suckle, to wash,
to be a tongue, an ear, a grasp,
a breast to which to clasp—
If I could be alone to brood
though brooding eyes are on me,
go on my way away from theirs,
remain alone
amid lamenting hands
beseeching, calling everywhere—
If I could be alone to pray,
alone to drink like a sprout,
to climb,
to fill full like a seedling
and wait with patient heart,
I could meet the breastless child
in each one I go by.

If I could be alone to see,
alone to see the upraised hands,
hands like trees, calling . . .
not men, not beads,
calling sap—
if I could see . . . if I could see . . .

[*over*]

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if I could hear . . .
hear the hearts on rising,
the tears on falling,
falling with a sound to stir,
with a sound to shake,
a sound of spring.
If I could see these stump-men growing,
growing limbs anew,
limbs like saplings,
like colts,
like deer—
If I could hear the Ram's Horn blowing
to silence tolling bells,
blowing like a whale,
like a fierce mother on her young,
like a typhoon—
if I could see hands bearing mountain water,
hands aloft without despair,
could see them leave the beads of torment,
these yellowed icons with pious claws—
if I could see . . . if I could see . . .

✪ HILLEL FRIMET's work has appeared in *Tiger's Eye, Twelfth Street,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and in *American Vanguard of 1948.*

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The Chances of Communism in China

Harry E. Klepetar

WHAT chances has communism in China?

In answering this question, we must avoid all wishful thinking. It would be easy to prove theoretically that communism has no chance in China, even according to its own doctrine. Communism considers itself as the negation of capitalism. The Hegelian dialectic, the philosophical foundation of Marxism, teaches that every existing form (thesis) creates, through its mere existence, its contradiction (antithesis). The existence of capitalism is, according to Karl Marx, sufficient reason for the growth of communism. Following the rules of logic, the opposite statement must be true as well: where no capitalism exists, communism cannot come into existence.

This is exactly the situation we meet in China. The gigantic country of 3,760,000 square miles with a population of 463,000,000 (according to the 1948 census) is living almost entirely on primitive agriculture. Until the Communist conquest, the land was exclusively in the possession of big landowners, who treated their tenants like serfs. The economic-administrative structure of China resembles very much that of the feudal age of Europe. The manufacturing of goods takes place in small handicraft shops, where the work is done almost 90 per cent manually, without any mechanical help. The few industrial plants of greater importance are concentrated in Shanghai, and mostly foreign owned. The same applies to the banks. Some small factories in Shanghai, Soochow, Canton, Tientsin are in Chinese

✪ Before the advent of Hitler the editor of the leading Prague newspaper, HARRY E. KLEPETAR is the author of two books on Central European history. Mr. Klepetar lived for nine years in China before coming to this country.

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hands. They are silk-weaving plants, match and cigarette factories, a few food-packing and canning enterprises. Their machinery and capacity, summed up for the whole country, would not surpass that of a middle-sized town in an industrial part of the United States.

The level of economic development of twentieth-century China resembles that of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Political economists classify this stage as pre-capitalistic. That would exclude chances of communism in China, from a Marxist standpoint at least. But Marx blundered gravely in predicting that the first socialist revolution would occur in one of the highly industrialized countries, England or Germany. The first Communist regime was established firmly in a country which was far from highly industrialized, in agricultural Russia, where the level of industry was not pre-capitalistic any more, as in today's China, but equivalent to the early stages of capitalism, as it existed in Western Europe in the eighteenth century. Disproving their prophet Marx, the Russian Marxists built a Communist society in a country with very little industry. Instead of nationalizing existing industrial plants, as Marx had prescribed in *Das Kapital,* the first Communists to turn theory into reality have built a new, collectively owned industry in a series of several five-year plans.

Will China be able to create a collective industry out of almost nothing, in the same way that Russia is building her socialized industry out of little? Theoretically, it should be possible, as China, in this respect similar to Russia, is one of the richest countries of the world in undeveloped natural resources. She is one of the foremost coal countries, with reserves estimated at 250 billion tons. She possesses iron ore, tin, antimony, molybdenum and bismuth in sufficient quantity, and could almost dominate the world market in wolfram (tungsten). Oil wells are operated in South Manchuria and in the northwestern province of Kansu. It is not yet known whether there is a substantial quantity of oil in China, but even without it, conditions for an industrialization of the vast country are more than good.

To develop natural resources of a country, three requirements are necessary: capital, labor and organizing ability. China possesses one of these, labor, in great masses, but lacks the other two completely. Here, too, the situation resembles that of Russia after 1917. Lack of

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capital and organizing ability postponed the building of the socialist state in Russia for more than ten years. Only after a long roundabout way, called New Economic Policy, the first five-year plan began to function in 1928, the eleventh year of the Communist rule.

The only nation in the world which could grant China substantial loans to build up her economy, the United States, will be cool toward the new regime in Peking even after having recognized it. Communist China will, therefore, have to start her five- or ten-year plans with her own means. The Soviet Union is, according to her treaty with China, only able or willing to contribute through a very small loan to the reconstruction of her new friend and ally. Three hundred million dollars were promised in this treaty, distributed over a period of five years. Computed on a per capita basis, the Soviet Union is not willing to spend more than 65 cents for every Chinese in the course of five years, or 13 cents per year. That fact speaks for itself. No investment worth mentioning can be financed in China with so small an amount. This, however, is not surprising: in dealing with her European satellites, Soviet Russia is always to be found on the receiving end.

The organizing ability of the Chinese, in contrast to their amazing talents as manual workers, is astonishingly low. That was one of the main reasons for the quick break-down of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. But even in this respect it would be dangerous wishful thinking to expect that the administration of Mao Tse-tung will show the same low degree of organizing ability. Compared with the Czarist bureaucracy in Russia, the new Soviet organizers of industry, of the armed forces and scientific research, proved to be very capable people, even if they fell short of American standards. The new Communist regime in China will be more efficient than the clique of Chiang Kai-shek; the outcome of the civil war is sufficient proof, though it should not be overestimated in the face of the low moral quality of the opponent.

The Chinese population, with its old tradition, its family ties and its rugged individualism, will be less willing to accept communism as a final solution than the Russians with their collectivist tradition. Since olden times the Russian peasants worked their land in common in a cooperative organization called *mir;* the intellectuals were prepared for a social revolution not only by the teachings of Marx and

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Engels, but by Russian thinkers with a deep influence upon the Russian soul, like Leo Tolstoy.

The Chinese, on the other hand, has hardly become conscious of his membership in a larger social body, such as his nation. The organic unit, in and for which he lives, is his family. In any Chinese city or town, there are many thousands of very small shops, open from early morning to midnight: cobblers, dressmakers, tailors, hardware dealers, grocers, smiths, electricians, masons, carpenters, etc. The central figure of those shops is the "Old Master," the boss, who is surrounded by his sons, nephews and distant relatives, all sharing their rice and fish and vegetables, with the Old Master keeping the small cash profit for new investments or savings. It is hard to see where communism can enter this picture—or how such a shop could be nationalized.

Every Chinese is, or would like to be, a tiny capitalist. Even the house-boy is less a servant than a small business man. He asks for and receives a commission (named *kumshah*) from the laundryman, the drycleaner, the repair shop, the shoemaker he patronizes on behalf of his master. He buys food and fuel and resells them to his employer with a small profit. A Chinese peasant boy coming to town will not look for a job as a coolie if he can help it, but will rather buy a bamboo pole, two baskets and a sack of rice, and will start to produce rice cakes, peddling them on the streets. Should he make some profit, he will hire a stray child picked up on the street, will buy a bell and ask him or her to run in front of his "walking shop," ringing the bell and offering hot cakes. In Marxists' eyes he has herewith become a capitalist, an exploiter of human labor. And that he probably will be, paying less than a bare minimum to his little herald (mostly only rice cakes), but his own income will be extremely small, as tens of thousands of such peddlers roam the streets of Shanghai, Peking, Hankow and other cities. Should our little capitalist produce an especially sweet kind of rice cakes and be more successful than his competitors, he will continue to turn himself into a capitalist by buying a table, two benches, an awning, one or two kettles, and hiring more help; and will then establish one of the many Chinese "street restaurants" which serve excellent, although not always hygienic, meals in the middle of the roadways. Finally he will marry, have

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children, fire all his help and run his "restaurant" with his family. This is a typical account of Chinese enterprise.

There are, it is true, also some collectivist elements in the Chinese tradition, like, for instance, the guild system, which would seem likely to make the Chinese more sympathetic to collectivist ideas. Yet, if weighed in the balance, the rugged individualism of the Chinese will, I feel confident, prevail strongly over his susceptibility to collectivist concepts.

Compared with the economic problems, the political establishment of the Communist regime in China will be an easy task. The Chinese are probably the most submissive people in the world. The present writer watched the Japanese occupation of Shanghai on December 8, 1941, and was amazed at how calmly the Chinese took it, showing neither hatred nor fear. He observed the same equanimity, without any sign of triumph or joy, when Japan surrendered in August, 1945. The ancient sages have taught the Chinese to disregard kings and statesmen. The most beloved philosopher of China, Lao-tse, teaches that inactivity is always better than activity. There are two typical Chinese proverbs: "Good iron is not used to make nails; good men are not used to make soldiers," and "There are many ways to meet an enemy; the best is to run away." That sounds silly to Occidental ears, but it is actually only a more naïve way of expressing Tolstoy's and Gandhi's non-resistance doctrines. The guerillas who bravely fought the Japanese between 1937 and 1945 are no proof to the contrary. Chased away from their homes, left without means to make their livelihood, those poor peasants had no other choice than to form bands, fight the Japanese, and live on the booty they were able to make. As long as Mao Tse-tung treats his Chinese gently, or at least in such a way as to enable them to make a modest living without too much interference with their family life, no counterrevolution is to be expected. What guerilla activity still exists behind the Communist lines will, I believe, cease earlier than generally expected.

In many Western circles the emergence of a Chinese Tito is hoped for. Although there are no signs so far that Mao Tse-tung will follow the course of the Yugoslav marshal in the near future, there are some elements in the Chinese picture which point to such a possibility as eventually likely. One of these is the agrarian question. The Com-

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munists, being a workmen's party with a "proletarian" ideology, have always had great difficulties in coping with the farmers. The breaking up of peasant property and the creating of collective farms brought Russia to the brink of a revolution in 1928-1930, and the insistence of the Soviet Union upon Yugoslavia's imitating her agrarian policy was largely responsible for Tito's heresy in 1948. In China, the agrarian problem is even more complicated than in Europe. The staple food of the larger part of China is rice, a grain which needs continual irrigation and frequent replanting, a hard manual labor which cannot be performed by machine. Rice culture is much less suited to collectivization than the production of wheat and corn. By insisting on a quick collectivization of peasants' property, Russia could easily alienate the Chinese Communists, and the conditions for the emergence of a Chinese Tito could arise.

The second element is the Oriental problem of face saving—the incredible touchiness of the Chinese. Mao will gladly follow the party line of communism so long as he himself and his fellow citizens feel that he does it voluntarily, and not as a Russian satellite. With tact, it should be easy for Moscow to make Mao act like a puppet while feeling like a dictator. Tact is, however, not one of the outstanding qualities of Russian diplomacy to date. Should the Kremlin decide to treat China in the same way in which it treated Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, this would certainly precipitate the emergence of a Chinese Tito.

In such a case, it seems as though Chou En-lai might be a better candidate for the role of Chinese Tito than Mao. He is a brilliant personality who strongly impressed General Marshall and other Americans negotiating with him in 1946. Chou has a bourgeois background. He hails from a big landowner's family, was an opium addict in his youth, but overcame his vice with astonishing energy when he was indoctrinated with Marxism; gave up his hereditary part in his family's estate, and joined the Communist movement. Mao, the official leader of Chinese communism, is a solid peasant, a self-made man with little education. It was certainly no accident that Mao Tse-tung could not come to an agreement with the Russians which the Chinese would accept, as long as he stayed alone in Moscow (December 1949, January 1950). After six weeks of frustrated negotiations,

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he called for Chou En-lai, and the outcome, at least so far as it has been published and is not contained in secret protocols, was such as could be presented to the Chinese people without loss of face for its Communist leadership.

The theory of a bourgeois-democratic revolution preceding the Communist revolution, and the introduction of the Communist program in gradual stages, is generally ascribed to Mao. It is, however, assumed in Chinese intellectual circles that it was originated by Chou. Mao accepted it from Chou, and it should at least be termed a joint Mao-Chou theory. It has strong similarities to Lenin's doctrine which led to the famous New Economic Policy of 1921. This policy reintroduced small trade and business, and postponed the collectivization of the peasants' holdings. The NEP, as it was called, governed the policy of the Soviet Union for seven years. Stalin poses as successor and authentic interpreter of Leninism. The theory of Mao and Chou concerning the introduction of communism in stages could therefore, theoretically, be tolerated and approved by Stalin.

It is, however, doubtful whether the dictator of the Soviet Union is now willing to concede NEP in any form and to put up with introducing communism gradually. This was, indeed, about what Tito proposed in 1948, when he favored the creation of small land holdings rather than of gigantic collective farms. The similarity of the situation in China and in Yugoslavia is striking. Therefore, the emergence of a Chinese Tito as a possibility for the future should definitely be kept in mind.

At present, the Soviet Union has easily succeeded in incorporating China into the Soviet orbit. In all questions of foreign policy, Mao and Chou follow with enthusiasm the lead from Moscow. Still the problem of Russo-Chinese relations is a very complex one. So far the 200-million Russian colossus has dealt only with small states—from Albania with one million inhabitants, to Poland with 25 million. With China, a nation has entered the Soviet orbit which has the area and population of a great power, although not its industrial and political capacity. Russo-Chinese relations will be more delicate than, for instance, Russo-Czechoslovak or Russo-Hungarian relations have been.

To sum up: *Politically*, it will not be too difficult for the Chinese

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Communists to establish their regime over the former Flowery Kingdom. *Economically*, they will be able to build a socialist regime in China, but with tremendous strain and in a much longer time than it took Russia. Where five-year plans worked in Russia, ten- or even twenty-year plans may be necessary in China. A socialist economy, such as now exists in the Soviet Union, will therefore not be achieved in thirty years, but in all probability not sooner than one hundred years. The socialization of the richest part of the country (Manchuria) as an autonomous unit, leaving a half-capitalist economy in the rest of the nation, is a possibility worth considering. It would be in strict accordance with Mao's theory of the gradual introduction of communism. This would, however, bring Manchuria strongly into the Russian orbit, and could cause grave friction between the two Communist colossi.

I feel confident that before the socialization of China's economy is completed, this vast empire—with its food deficit, its lack of means of communication and transportation, its almost yearly recurring floods, its frequent droughts and undeveloped resources—will turn out much more of a liability to the Soviet bloc than an asset.

Coming . . .

Goethe for America . . . . . *Wolf Franck*

My Grandfather Was an Accessary after the Fact . . *Stewart Holbrook*

On Einstein's New Theory . . . . . *Leopold Infeld*

The Flowering of the Southern Demagogue . . . *Reinhard Luthin*

The Idea of an American Destiny . . . . . *Clinton L. Rossiter*

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The American Political Party

Henry Steele Commager

WE tend to take our political parties for granted; when we notice them, it is to abuse or deplore them, or perhaps to apologize for them. Yet the party is our basic political institution, and perhaps our most successful one; we could get along better without the Constitution than without the party. And the party is not only a basic American institution; it is also a characteristic one. No other nation—not even Britain, Canada or Australia—has a party system like the American.

This is not astonishing. The political party is, in a sense, an American invention; parties were unknown in eighteenth-century Europe, and British parties were what we now would call factions. The Democratic party today is the oldest political party in the world, and the largest. Americans have had longer experience with party machinery and government than any other people; they have, inevitably, molded the party in their own image, fashioned it to their own purposes, stamped upon it their own characteristics.

It is easier to describe than to define the American political party—an observation equally appropriate to other institutions, such as democracy or constitutionalism—and it is perhaps easier to say what a party is not than to say what it is. It certainly is not Edmund Burke's "body of men united for promoting the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are agreed"; almost the only part of that definition applicable to the American scene is the first three words—"a body of men." Indeed, insofar as a definition is possible, we can say that the party is a body of men—and women—organized to get control of the machinery of government.

This might apply, with important additions, to British and Canadian parties as well. The American party system has some singular

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features that do not appear in the party systems of other countries, or appear only fortuitously. First, ours is a two party system, tempered by minor parties. Second, each of the major parties is a loose federation of state and local organizations bound together chiefly by the exigencies of the presidential election system. Third, American parties are notorious for the absence of party leadership, control, agreement and discipline, except such as are furnished by a president who is at the same time an effective party leader. Finally, the party is not only a political but a social institution, something of a fraternal organization, something of a game, something of a circus.

If we would appreciate the significance of the political party, we must look to its historical functions rather than to its forms. In the perspective of over a century and a half, those functions are clear enough; what is impressive is that they have changed so little over this period, and that they persist in the present and promise to continue into the future. Historically, the function of the political party has been to administer the government; to break down the artificial barriers of the federal system and of the separation of powers; to strengthen nationalism and ameliorate the conflicts of section, class, race, religion and interest; to advance democracy and to educate public opinion. Each of these functions requires a word of explanation.

The first job of the political party has been to run the government. The Fathers of the Constitution drew up an admirable blueprint of government—and went off and left it. They made no practical provision for the day by day business of politics or administration. Although most of them were practical, and practicing statesmen, they apparently thought of the new government in terms of the old, and assumed that it would jog along pretty much under its own momentum. They neither anticipated nor recognized political parties; it is an interesting consideration that parties are not only unknown to the Constitution, they were unknown to law until as late as 1907. But the Constitution was neither a self-starting nor a self-operating mechanism. The first election was easy, for there could be no contest for the presidency, yet it was ominous that it was the end of April before Washington could be inaugurated, and almost a year later before the chief departments of the government were properly organized.

Fortunately, at a very early date, political parties came along and

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ran the government, and—with the assistance of a growing permanent civil service—they have been doing it ever since. They have selected men for office, conducted campaigns, managed elections, printed ballots, formulated policies and issues, taken responsibility for legislative programs—helping in the selection of cabinets and of high administrative officials, fitting together the innumerable fragments of government into an efficiently functioning machine. On the whole, they have done these things well; certainly no better system of running the business of politics and government has yet been devised.

The second of the important historical functions of the party has been that of harmonizing the federal system and the machinery of government within the various parts of that system. The Fathers of the Constitution, children of the Age of Reason, fabricated what we may call a Newtonian scheme of government, static rather than dynamic. They thought that they could create a mechanical system which, if based on sound principles of politics, could continue to operate into the indefinite future. Not only this, but since experience had taught them that all government was to be feared—that "government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence"—they exhausted their ingenuity in devising methods of checking governmental tyranny. They manufactured to this end a complicated system of checks and balances: a federal system, the tripartite division of powers, the bicameral legislature, judicial review, frequent elections, and so forth.

Such a system, if adhered to rigorously, would result very speedily in governmental paralysis. If, for example, the members of the Electoral College really followed their own independent judgment in voting for a president—as the Framers supposed they would—the elective system would break down completely. Parties have taken charge of the whole business of electing a president—from the caucus to the convention, the campaign and the election—with the result that only three times has the election gone from the Electoral College to the House of Representatives. Parties have made possible, too, the effective workings of a tripartite government. Theoretically, executive, legislative and judiciary are independent and equal—so independent, indeed, that no one of them is bound to accept the interpretation of the Constitution itself by any other one or two departments. If the executive and the legislature actually insisted upon their

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independence, government could not function. Parties normally harmonize these two branches of the federal government. When, as occasionally happens, one party controls the executive branch and another the legislative, there is usually a deadlock. Fortunately this happens but rarely, and when it does the good sense of American politicians finds a way out.

Equally important has been party implementation of the federal system, a system otherwise ideally designed to produce deadlock. It is the political party that harmonizes state and national interests, and integrates state and national politics. This integration has, indeed, gone too far. It is perhaps natural that presidential candidates should be taken from state governors rather than from the Senate or some other area of public life—and the majority of candidates have been governors of New York, Ohio or Indiana in recent years—but it is scarcely natural that county, town and village politics should operate within the framework of the national parties. That integration is, however, part of the price we pay for harmony in the federal system; it is not too high a price. The alternative is perhaps the kind of split we had in 1860 and again in 1948.

The third major function of the party has been—and still is—to strengthen nationalism and ameliorate the otherwise dangerous sectional and class divisions. It should never be forgotten that the United States is comparable to a continent rather than to the average nation, and that it contains within its spacious borders as many geographical, climatic and economic divisions as are found in Europe or South America. We take national unity for granted, but every time we look at our map we might well say to ourselves, "There, but for the grace of God, the wisdom of the Fathers, and the work of political parties, goes South America." Normally, the sharp sectional divisions in the United States would be disintegrating, and it is relevant to recall that many of the Founding Fathers thought that a nation of continental dimensions could not possibly hold together. Fortunately, a variety of forces—historical, political, economic, social and psychological—have countered the natural particularism of the American scene. Of these forces, the most important have been the Constitution, the West and the political party, and the party is not the least of the three.

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Occasionally, to be sure, parties have come to represent purely local or sectional interests. Whenever they have done so, they have made trouble—or disappeared. The Federalists became almost wholly a sectional and class party—and went under. When in 1860 the Democratic party split along sectional lines, and the Republican party emerged as a strictly Northern party, the Union itself split. The re-creation of the Democratic party as a national institution was perhaps the most effective instrument for the restoration of real union after the Civil War. Again, in the 1890's, parties were on the verge of organizing along sectional lines; fortunately, the Democratic capture of the Populist party avoided that danger. The emergence of a purely sectional party in 1948 threatened for a time to demoralize the national political scene, throw the election into the House of Representatives, and give us a minority government; fortunately the danger was exaggerated.

But the nationalizing role of the party is not merely the negative one of overcoming sectionalism. It is positive as well. And its positive role here is closely tied to its function of selecting presidential nominees and running national campaigns. Though parties have no national bosses—Mark Hanna is the only possible exception, and Hanna could not always control his own state—they do have national leaders. It is rare that a state or local election takes precedence over a national; an astonishing number of Americans cannot name their state governor, and a substantial number do not know the name of their Congressional representative. The habit of local politicians riding into Congress on the coattails of a successful presidential candidate has often been remarked, never more acidly than by Franklin Roosevelt. It has its drawbacks, to be sure, but it has its points, too. It means that for one year out of four the attention of political parties, local politicians, and the politically-minded public is focused on national issues and personalities.

A parallel function of the political party has been the moderation of class antagonisms and the reconciliation of group interests. How varied those class, group, racial and religious elements are is too familiar for rehearsal. From the beginning, one function of the party has been to serve as the great common denominator of these interests—of the whole of American society and economy. This fact is often

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alleged as a grave criticism of the American party—especially abroad. Parties do not, it is charged, represent real interests or groups. They do not adequately represent farmers, labor, business, the middle classes. They do not speak for the Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews; for Baptists or Methodists; for the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Negroes. They even avoid issues which might give fair expression to the interests of these groups.

The charge is correct. A sound instinct has avoided the alignment of classes or racial groups into political parties. For nothing, it is clear, could be more dangerous than such an alignment, and nothing gives greater security and stability to the political system than the fact that the two dominant parties represent all classes and interests of American society and economy. Occasionally in the past a party has fallen under the control of a particular economic class or interest—the Federalists, for example, or the Democrats in the 1850's, but such yielding to particular interest groups has been fatal. Even an appearance of subservience to particular economic interests—as with the Republican party in the 1920's—has been visited with heavy penalties.

This does not mean that a particular social or economic—or moral—interest cannot make itself felt politically. Though it is the instinct of parties to avoid issues, particular interests, if vigorous enough, can make themselves heard and felt in two ways. The first is within the major parties. Anyone familiar with the work of platform committees or of conventions, and with the compromises and concessions that go into the making of party tickets, knows that within the party conflicting interests are represented, and can, by eloquence or by political blackmail, get such attention. Nor is it impossible to persuade, or force, parties to face great issues. The major parties faced the issue of free silver in 1896, the issue of progressive reform in 1912, the issue of the social service state in 1932, the issue of intervention in 1940. The record of American parties here is not less reassuring than the record of British or French parties.

The second outlet for particular interests or groups is through the minor party—it is the fashion now to call it the splinter party.

The American party system is definitely a two party system. There has never been a successful third party, unless the Republican party be called that, and minor parties have rarely polled more than

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a very small percentage of the popular vote. Yet there have been almost innumerable minor parties—Free Soil, Liberty, Know Nothing, Greenback, Populist, Farmer-Labor, Progressive, Socialist, Prohibitionist, Dixiecrat and others. Sometimes—as in 1948—these splinter parties have been merely an expression of discontent; more often —as with the anti-slavery or the Greenback or the Populist or the Progressive parties—they have represented genuine issues. Thus, while the function of the major parties is to be all things to all men and to avoid controversial issues, the function of the minor parties is to be something specific to a particular group of men, and to agitate controversial issues. The business of the major parties is to capture and run the government—a task of infinite complexity, requiring compromise and concession; the business of the minor parties is to develop so great a nuisance value that one of the major parties will take over their programs or make political concessions to them. The third party is not only a useful safety valve in the American political system; it is, in a sense, the conscience of the major parties. It cannot hope to win, but it can mean defeat for a major party, and it keeps the major parties alert to protect minorities.

Finally, it may be said that the American party has been an effective instrument for democracy and for enlightenment. This is a consequence, not of any inherent quality in the party itself, but rather of the dynamics of American politics. Each of the major parties has been forced to look for broad popular support, which means that parties are inevitably advocates of an extension of the suffrage. No party has ever taken the risk of openly opposing such an extension, for the consequences to it when the extension came—as it always did —would have been disastrous. Even the appearance of hostility to democracy was disastrous to the Federalists, and the anti-democratic Dixiecrats were not able to carry a single Southern state in a fair contest. Thus, too, each of the major parties, not being committed in advance to fundamental principles, has ever been on the look-out for popular issues. Whatever issues appear to have vote-getting potentialities, will inevitably be espoused by one or both major parties. Parties know, by experience, that victory goes to the party that has satisfied the most popular needs and offended the fewest groups. This does not always mean an aggressive legislative program; sometimes

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the public is weary of legislation and wants quiet—as in the 1920's. Sometimes it is more conscious of the burden of taxes than of the benefits of government largess. But on the whole the natural pressure of American politics is for an aggressive legislative program—witness the successful careers of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

Nor should it be overlooked in any analysis of the party system that the internal structure and organization of the party is predominantly democratic. There are exceptions here, to be sure—in the South, for example. But those who come to the fore in party politics are the willing workers, not the aristocrats or the intelligentsia. Almost every political boss has worked his way up from ward-leader or county-leader; the rewards do go to the workers. In this the party is much like the labor union; indeed, the analogy might profitably be carried much farther.

The two-party system seems to fit the temper and character of the American people. A single party would allow no alternative to bad government and would expose government to the danger of bureaucracy, and eventually to irresponsibility. A multi-party system—requiring as it does deep convictions about principles in the body politic—would fragment the government and the nation. The two party system, working within the comfortable framework of national unity and general agreement on fundamentals, offers an amiable choice of managers and even of current policies. It is irrelevant to argue that the choice is not one of principle; it is the virtue of the American party system that it does not present the American people with the necessity of fighting about principles.

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Two Sonnets

David Morton

Wedding Guest

The constant bachelor she never married,
In the groom's breast, and single, and alone,
Admired, remotely, the bouquet she carried,
And heard two voices, one of them his own,
In solemn, brief antiphonies agreeing
To such commitments as the priest propounded,
And sensed a menace to his shape of being,
But still remotely—and was much astounded,

Afterwards, when the other guests had gone,
To find himself, a stranger and absurd,
And awkward, there, but somehow staying on,
A witness to the lie within the word—
And present, still, as each succeeding dawn
Looked in on two and an uneasy third.

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Celebrity

His fame being wide as air, wherever he went
Himself was what his lungs were sucking in—
More carbon and less oxygen, which meant
His health was poorer than it should have been.
So—for his health—he sought a change of air,
And found precisely what he went to find:
The leaves were ignorant, and the grasses, there,
Illiterate, and the rocks were dumb and blind.

He prospered—for a while; but pined again;
The climate was adverse, he came to see,
For one conditioned to less oxygen. . . .
So he returned to breathe, consumingly,
His name and works, till he was brought to bed,
And died—consumptive, as the papers said.

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Return to Europe

Martin Gumpert

IT WAS not Germany alone which I revisited after thirteen years, but all Europe. It was my first return since emigrating to America. Crossing the Atlantic by plane in a few hours is a fantastic experience, made even more adventurous by the matter-of-factness of the other travelers. They acted as though it were merely a bus ride. Next to me sat an old Irish woman, coming back to her homeland after forty-two years. Her son is a locomotive engineer. This year he did not turn in his car for a new model, but instead took his mother on this trip. There were French grape-growers from California, salesmen from the Middle West. Nothing unusual occurred as we sailed our even way, high in the sunlight, then dipped near the coast of Ireland from bright day through soft, gigantic mountains of clouds into the night which now covered the earth. Then on over England and France. Having just seen the endless empty forests of Newfoundland, I was deeply impressed by the crowdedness below—a mosaic of houses and fields divided and subdivided through generations into minute particles of soil, tiny bits of acreage.

The smallness of Europe is astonishing. Like a visitor at a World's Fair, one wanders from one country into another as from one pavilion into the next. Each small unit represents a different epoch of history, a different language, different goods, different manifestations of national pride and tradition—and Germany, on this narrow playground, is the "spook house" where sudden gusts of wind and startling noises arise, and one finds unsteady footing in the darkness. But the whole of Europe seems a playground, an indolent area of feverish leisure, a beautiful, picturesque frame of the frozen past—in contrast to the active unrest and productive turmoil of my new

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homeland America. America is like the adolescent son of a family in which the provider has suddenly died—who has to take upon his shoulders prematurely all the responsibilities and dignities of a father. Europe today, on the other hand, seems like an old woman who has gone through endless troubles and yet violently clings to her last breath of life.

The frame of grandeur is almost intact—the air, the colors, the memories—but one always feels the hidden sadness, the deficiencies about which one must not talk, the tragedy one tries to forget, the deep-rooted fatigue, and the apathy, or even hostility, to reasonable change. The casual traveler may not detect the tenseness below the surface immediately. Yet it is there, and in time a thoughtful observer tends to become frightened at the realization that so entirely outmoded, unhealthy, broken-down a structure of human life is still big and important enough to disturb, by its sickness, human life on earth everywhere.

Indeed, if one is alert, one gets a weird and distinct feeling of latent crisis as soon as one lands in Europe. It grows louder and louder as one moves east; it cries in your ears in Germany; it screams in Berlin. My first stop in Germany was Konstanz. The town lies on the edge of the huge Bodensee, separated from its Swiss twin city Kreuzlingen by only a wooden barrier in the middle of a street. One house is Swiss, the next German. The same kind of people in the same kind of landscape marked, as though by predestination, for heaven or hell. One neighbor is permitted to breathe the air of peaceful liberty, the other may see his son perish in Siberia. The madness of frontiers cannot be more clearly demonstrated, even in Berlin, where East and West clash in the same street.

An old friend of mine awaited me at the frontier. I had last been here thirty-five years before, with my parents, on August 1, 1914, when the First World War ended our Swiss vacation, and ended forever our peaceful, secure bourgeois existence. Now I had come back, an American citizen, to a country which I had once loved with all my heart and which had taught me how to hate.

The day was bright and serene. Konstanz had never been touched by actual warfare. Nothing had been destroyed here. The landscape was soft and romantic, like the paintings of Casper David

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Friedrich. The old Inselhotel, a former monastery, the stage for many acts of German history, had retained its charm and dignity. But wandering through the narrow middle-town streets, I walked through an atmosphere of strain and weakness. It was as though somebody had just died and nobody wanted to talk about it. Yet, although nobody was laughing, the people looked healthy, well nourished, well clothed. Bits of conversation seemed always to involve business deals, money worries. The shops were well stocked, and French signs here and there were the only visible proof of occupation.

Most individuals in Germany today look upon themselves as all-important and upon everything else as negligible. They probably have to. The German individual is more isolated than ever. His everyday world has grown so complicated, his struggle for survival so violent, his energy so reduced—that he needs all his efforts just to keep alive. This may be an explanation of the most disagreeable ailment affecting Germans—a painful urge for self-pity, together with an absence of reason, justice, understanding or interest with regard to others.

We are in this country extremely well informed about the political and economic situation of post-Hitler Germany. But psychologically Germany has become a more secret land than ever. A few days before, I had visited my old philosophy teacher, Karl Jaspers, in Basel. Married to a Jewish wife, he had had to give up his chair at the University of Heidelberg, working furiously for years in his hideout on a large philosophical study on "Truth," trembling day and night for fear that his wife might be imprisoned or slaughtered. Now, after the war, he had accepted the philosophical chair at the University of Basel, the venerable chair of Nietzsche, wishing to spend his last years, with broken health, in the clean and peaceful air of Switzerland, devoted to his work and his wife. He was at once viciously attacked for deserting his Fatherland in time of need.

This is a significant example of the present German state of mind; guilt and wrong can be seen only in others; almost everyone protests that he and his country have suffered a gross injustice. During a reception in Konstanz I sat next to a young woman (it was supposed to be a circle of confirmed anti-Nazis) who said to me: "We Ger-

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mans will never forget what the Americans have done to Dresden."

"What have they done?"

"Dresden has been completely destroyed—70,000 of its people killed. The English would never have done it. The French, well, they could not do it. But the Americans did. We will never forget it."

"But have not the Germans themselves killed millions of their own citizens, and quite brutally?"

"That, we did not know," she answered angrily.

Jaspers had told me: "You will find some wonderful persons in Germany, but they are completely isolated, lonely, unhappy. The rest is chaos." He was exactly right.

The first and most surprising experience is to find millions of Germans living a refugee life within their own homeland. The most unhappy among them are the exiles from Berlin. Everywhere one meets *Berliner;* they are actors, writers, scholars, radio officials, editors, businessmen. They are, in fact, almost the only people who are active, alive and mentally fairly well balanced. "*Sie sind wohl auch nicht von hier?*" ("You are also not from here?") they ask you with confidential and sympathetic understanding after the exchange of a few words.

The greater part of the German "inner" emigration is not integrated in any way. These people are living in camps or just wandering around, miserable, terribly poor, embittered, jobless, desperately homesick. It is undoubtedly much easier to emigrate from Berlin to New York, than from Berlin to Munich or some other place in the Western Zone. The refugee is looked at as an intruder, a stranger, a competitor. In Berlin I found many who had returned after an unhappy journey into the Western *Ausland*. "If we are to live in misery," they say, "we prefer to be miserable in Berlin."

There are many reasons for the widespread absence of human kindness and mutual assistance. About 12,000,000 Germans were expelled from eastern regions; more than a million have fled from the Eastern into the Western Zone, and their number is mounting; about 7,000,000 have lost their homes by bombing. In all, there are about 20,000,000 people to be housed, and no new building of any importance, with the exception of a few places like Stuttgart, is going on.

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These masses of refugees are very unevenly distributed. In Schleswig-Holstein 46 per cent of the population now consists of refugees, in Hesse 20 per cent—other regions, particularly the French Zone, having received only a very small number of refugees. Little is being done to create productive employment for the expelled. A bank official complained to me bitterly about a special case in which glass-blowers from Gablonz, world famous for their artisan skill, had orders for several million dollars worth of goods, but that it was impossible to get for them a credit of 40,000 marks in order to install their machinery. He—as were many others—was extremely bitter about the tremendous investments required for new administrative buildings in Bonn, the new capital, which he called "Adenauer's Obersalzberg" (Hitler's former playground).

Then there is the fantastic deconcentration of Germany. A net of confusing and confused bureaucracy is spread over Germany, not to mention the fatal partition into the Western and Eastern Zones. Almost each community offers an entirely different social situation, and often an entirely different spirit and standard of living. Many people do not live where they work, and their families are sprayed over different parts of the country. A middle-sized business with about one hundred employees may be located in three or four different towns, or within a town in ten differently located offices. Tremendous efforts and a great amount of time, of travel expense, telephone and mailing are necessary in order to coordinate all these branches, and there are different rules and regulations everywhere.

The famed German faculty for methodical work is hard to find nowadays. There is probably no human being on earth to whom order seems more essential as a basis for living, and now there is almost nothing but disorder. Germans suffer deeply from this state of disorder; they are confused, distracted, undecided, inefficient, fatigued, and at the same time painfully aware of these facts. It can be said that Germans as a group will always prefer the worst kind of order to the best kind of disorder, and this seems to me the main explanation for the willing acceptance of the Nazi regime, which promised order to them. And order they got, a devilish order, but they had jobs, food, recreation, and they knew what to do.

The "orderliness" of the Hitler regime is also an explanation for

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the surprising fact that the majority of the Germans, even today, believe that National Socialism was a good idea, simply not cleverly enough managed. They talk with longing of those happy days of order and unity, of social peace. All their hate is still centered on the unhappy republic of Weimar and its politicians, and many of them see in the present political parties nothing but a vicious throwback to those hated times.

Germany today shows the symptoms of a profound mass neurosis which has not yet entered even the preliminary curative stage. Such a preliminary stage would require the patient to display some realization that something is wrong with him, a wish to find out what is wrong, and a spontaneous urge to get back to a state of mental normalcy. The chief sign of their neurotic disturbance is, on the other hand, a nearly complete lack of normal emotional response, of average moral concepts—an emotional stupor which prevents them from reacting to their environment and their own experiences as one would expect an average person to react.

I arrived at a time when several so-called euthanasia-trials had started. Defendants were physicians and nurses and officials who had murdered—on rather vague orders from above—many thousands of invalids, aged, mentally disturbed, epileptics and so-called "asocial elements." The facts which were brought into daylight were simply horrifying. Yet a young journalist, who had just attended one of these trials, located in the community in which most of the victims had lived, told me that he never saw more than half a dozen people in the audience. The sentences were unbelievably mild, most of the defendants being acquitted. I asked many persons I met: "How do you explain this? Here is a German court trying Germans who have deliberately murdered your innocent child, wife, grandmother, friend. Why is nobody interested?"

The almost standard answer to my question was: "Yes, but you see, there is Weizsäcker; Weizsäcker has been unjustly sentenced." Weizsäcker had been sentenced to eight years in jail a few months before because he had signed and approved a decree for the deportation of thousands of Jews to the gas chambers of Poland. This incapacity to admit the guilt, or even to discuss the guilt of fellow Germans, is a general symptom, and it applies even to people who have

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been decidedly anti-Nazi, were tortured and imprisoned themselves.

But this was not the main reason for my bewilderment. It was the apparent unwillingness even to discuss these facts among friends in a reasonable and rational way. Alternative answers might be: "You Americans dropped the atom bomb" or "Our soldiers starved in American prisoner of war camps" or "The Russians do worse" or "It is the fault of American propaganda, which showed us for months horror pictures, and told us that we are murderers" or "Nobody told us that such things happened." If I answered that the atom bomb hangs like a cloud over our country, and that its fateful ownership has created a deep sense of guilt and of future responsibility among Americans, a situation frankly and openly discussed; that inhumanities occur everywhere, but are not sponsored by a legitimate government—indeed, are instead repudiated and denounced by every honest person—the Germans smile incredulously.

Now there is no question but that every honest German who has witnessed murder and infamy—and every German has—suffers from a sense of guilt. But by some mysterious process of self-defense, it has been submerged into the deepest layers of his unconscious, and there—according to all rules of modern psychiatry—it creates havoc and neurosis, resentment against everybody who is not a partner to his guilt. There are some, of course, who feel profoundly desperate, who are thankful for the opportunity to talk about what has happened. But these are few. And while one can feel pity at the burden of memories every German has to carry around, there can be no doubt that the Germans themselves alone can undertake the painful job of re-creating moral standards, normal relations to the outside world, a reasonable knowledge of what has happened to them, and to others, since night darkened their country.

Before I went back, I often fearfully imagined what it would be like to shake hands with people who had given the Hitler salute for so many years. Never having been an adherent of the thesis of "collective guilt," I felt compelled to find out. There are some people, old friends and new friends, who at least have a clear understanding that the future of Germany depends on its moral integration into the rest of the world. But as a whole, this problem has been completely shirked, although it becomes more urgent, more dangerous

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with the increasing economic and political stabilization of Germany.

The occupying powers seem almost totally unaware of this problem. They know less and less of what is going on inside the German mind, and they seem delighted by the facade of orderly democratic processes enacted by clever politicians. Public reaction in the allied press to the last election results shows this clearly. Actually, the elections do not mean a thing, positively or negatively. Attending election meetings, one was quickly convinced that there exists no genuine interest in any of the licensed parties; there is nothing but a deep mistrust of everybody and everything. Only when one party attacks another, or all the parties attack the occupying powers, is there some faint emotional reaction. There was no licensed nationalistic party except in a small area (where they got many votes), so every former Nazi who cared to vote had to vote for Adenauer's party, the Christian Democratic Union, which is an inorganic concoction of suppressed voters, and does not represent an honest political faith.

Only the French (and, to some extent, the Russians) seem to be aware of the fact that the basic German problem is rather a psychological than a political or economic one. I talked to the French governor of Konstanz and to some younger members of his staff. They are unpretentious, intelligent, eager people, highly familiar with the particular problems of their area (Baden); they are fluently talking the idiomatic German of their zone; they are convinced that the only possible solution for their age-old conflict with their German neighbor is an intimate cultural rapprochement, and they are certain that it will take at least fifty years to achieve such a goal. Their supervision, therefore, is stricter in a political sense than in the other Western zones, but larger and more generous in a cultural sense. There seems to grow here and there the seed of some genuine mutual understanding, still in its faintest beginnings, and the attitude of the population toward this particular "enemy," at first especially tense, is now a rather satisfactory one.

Americans are appreciated, especially in Berlin, where their power and efficiency and courage were so decisive during the blockade, but they are not much liked, still less understood. The dislike of America is a general European phenomenon. Nobody in Europe

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pretends to know or even to acknowledge that this whole continent would collapse like a house of cards without American help. The usual prejudices and superstitions against America have increased rather than diminished. This country is to the average European still a dollar-mad stone desert, inhabited by reckless and uncivilized business men who do not know how to live.

The average German, of any political shading, is full of contempt for the Western occupying powers, full of fear of the Russians. Americans have, in his opinion, made nothing but mistakes, are always falling for the wrong people, are squandering their riches, are misbehaved and uncivilized. The others are not much better, and everybody longs to get rid of the invaders. However, it is part of German inconsistency that such complaints almost regularly end with the statement that the withdrawal of the Western occupying forces would mean catastrophe, and would be intolerable. The explanation is that Germans are terrified of the Russians.

Serious mistakes have, of course, been made by the Western powers. The de-nazification process has had completely perverted effects: countless small semi-innocent followers have been punished to an extent that has nearly ruined their lives; big Nazis are everywhere back in big business, assisting each other, sneering at the stupid conquerors. Occupation powers have everywhere relied on the clean-looking, well-mannered ruling class, the managers and experts who faithfully served the Hitler machine, and they have crudely rejected dirty anti-Nazis, just discharged from concentration camps, the working class, which is the only one to harbor any democratic ideals, and suspect intellectuals of liberal color. However, perhaps an occupying army cannot be expected to be aware of German class distinctions. One cannot deny that probably anything the invading enemy might have undertaken would have provoked equal resentment and hostility on the part of the Germans.

At any rate, the situation has now changed. Most of the uniformed Americans one meets are youngsters who did not participate in the occupation; who are lonely, try to get girls or to get drunk; who are in no way prepared to fulfill a "mission," and are rather open to unfortunate German influences than ready to be bearers of the democratic cause. The destruction (instead of supervision) of factories

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which might give work to thousands in the Rhineland has been an unbelievable plunder, nourishing nationalism and the worst kind of anti-allied propaganda, and, finally, the controversy between East and West puts the Germans in a decisive political key position, which they utilize with great cleverness and agility to their own advantage. *Die brauchen uns ja* (These people sure need us) is no longer whispered, but proudly proclaimed.

At the same time, the Germans do not trust each other. Many will complain about their solitude, their loneliness, the complete deterioration of friendship and mutual confidence. Relationships are rather a burden than a bond.

This general apathy also deeply affects the family life. Women look hard and bony and unloved, men sloppy and haggard. For a hundred men, aged twenty to thirty, there are a hundred and seventy women; for one hundred men, aged thirty to forty, there are a hundred and forty women. An atmosphere of sexless fatigue prevails. There is simply not enough space; there are not enough bathtubs; there is not enough time for love. Around every man crystallizes a group of dependents, in-laws and widows and divorcees and children and expellees who crowd into his apartment and share his food and his income.

After having gone through American training for many years, one is rather shocked by the overbearing rudeness of men to women, which is still further increased by the ample abundance of women. Almost every family develops its special brand of tension and irritation. There is not much *Gemütlichkeit,* but much tragedy and despair.

Children suffer the most from such conditions. One encounters on streets and highways thousands of these youngsters, born under Hitler's birth promotion laws. Boys with long blond hair, wearing short leather pants, and girls with short blond hair, wearing "dirndl" dresses, mostly appear in groups, wearing identical caps or feathers or medals. If one talks to them, one finds their heads filled with adolescent confusion and cynicism. They do not seem to believe in anything, are violently uninterested in politics, are full of suspicion against the adult—but eager to learn, to go ahead, to hear of foreign countries. After a while, if you do not make too bad an impression

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on them, their attitude often changes; their skepticism grows gradually milder; one feels they wished they could believe in something. I met some exceedingly nice children, intelligent, earnest, gifted, mature far beyond their age, and I often wished a Noah's Ark were at my disposal to take them along to this country.

In Oberstdorf in the Bavarian Alps, I talked to the very intelligent headmistress of a home for well-to-do children. She was Dutch, had stayed all through the war in her most difficult position, and is now busy de-nazifying Dutch citizens who have settled in Bavaria. There are several thousand of them. She and her assistant, a resolute, friendly woman, were quite desperate about the state of their students. All children lie to you, even children from anti-Nazi families. They have been drilled to lead a double life, to hide their feelings and beliefs from one another, if they have any at all. No ideals, no goals, no youthful enthusiasm exists—but a tricky way to "fix" situations, to get along. They do not play. They have no room to play, no toys to play with. They are mostly with grown-ups, and know little privacy. Their ignorance is great. They are unable to concentrate, to work, to think. The well-balanced rhythm of life on which the welfare of children so much depends has been completely disrupted. Schools are terribly overcrowded, with classes of sixty and more, working in morning and afternoon sessions. Ninety-five per cent of the children in Oberstdorf (an undestroyed, well-to-do community) do not have bathroom facilities.

The children are full of resentment against the occupation. "Why should I dust and clean my room? I have gone through too much," is the typical answer of an expellee girl. The Dutch lady mentioned one exception. Several of her girls had spent their vacation in an English summer camp. They returned changed, relaxed, reassured: "There seems to be some truth in what you told us. These were nice people, honest and decent. Maybe everything is not so bad as we thought."

Such is German reality today, and it is a grim reality. These people are not yet prepared to face the outside world on adequate moral and emotional terms. A refugee is to them somebody who was clever enough to escape in time, and now sits on top of the world. If one mentions that England's living conditions, their food, their clothing

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are much worse than Germany's, they will answer you, "Maybe, but not *much* worse." They feel that they are being treated terribly unfairly; that nobody on earth has suffered as much as they have; and that it is everybody's duty to make up for it. The simple idea of restitution seems preposterous to them. "Democracy" is a sort of invective.

The aim of the average German is survival. His life is haunted by calamities, conflicts, uncertainty, and he does not care to search for reasons and causes; he is entirely occupied with overcoming his immediate emergencies. The aim of the German politician is power, and there is ample opportunity to acquire and exercise power within an area of widespread discontent, disillusion and obvious injustice, with ample goals to shoot at, ample occasion for promises, and little obligation to keep promises. An occupied country is an ideal playground for nationalistic fanaticism, and there is neither a great urge for, nor a great possibility of acquiring, objective measures and viewpoints which could help to integrate the German problem into the European problem, into world politics.

It is the aim of only a small number of German intellectuals to explain the present predicament, to realize what has happened during the dark years to them and their country, to regenerate the lost power of expression and creativeness. Not that there is no intellectual effort. But it seems as though the distorted German mind and, perhaps still more, the distorted German language, need a prolonged period of convalescence to recover from the deep shock they have experienced.

During the past few years, there has been a terrific boom in magazines, book publishing, journalism—much of it quite "high-brow." It has produced a rather "phony," swollen, unrealistic, confused, pedantic idealism, and the material as a whole has been rather boring and artificial. But during the period of inflation, printed paper had become simply a matter of material value, a substance, almost the only one that could be freely acquired and traded. This "dictatorship of the intellectuals" was rather short-lived. It ended abruptly with the revaluation of the German mark.

There is nobody who will not tell you about the fantastic event of the first day of currency stabilization. Like a fairy tale, like a

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miracle, all shop windows were suddenly flooded with goods one had a few minutes before not even dared to dream of. These goods were expensive, but it must have been a tremendous emotional release even to look at them. People who had been hiding these goods made fortunes.

The availability of food, of shoes, of suits and dresses, of household goods, killed the intellectual movements immediately. Since that time, the bookshops are empty, magazines are folding, painters are hungry, theatres are empty, and many publishing houses, especially the new ones, have closed. One can buy almost every new book at a reduced price, and the bookseller often is unable to pay the publisher his debt since he needs the cash for his grocer. The scarcity of money is appalling, but the Westmark retains its strangely high artificial exchange rate of about three marks to the dollar; unemployment is climbing to dangerous heights. All in all, however, the reestablishment of money which means money has had a great moral effect, extending to the most subtle human relationships. But there is no longer much demand for, or interest in, experimental literature or philosophical essays.

I was present when Thomas Mann arrived in Frankfurt on his first return to Germany. We stayed outside the ghostlike center of the town which is filled with rubble, dust and noise, in the city's guest house, located in Kronberg and surrounded by the green hills of the Taunus. We spent the first afternoon driving through this beautiful landscape, its quaint old villages, farms and castles, stopping here and there, always followed by a car with four police detectives because some ugly anonymous letters had been received. Thomas Mann was visibly moved by his return to this image of the past which haunts the nights of a refugee. I had felt that way when I saw again with my own eyes the medieval sleepy little town of Meersburg on the Bodensee. I have seen a friend almost faint when she wandered through the cloister garden and through the small streets of Schaffhausen, which is German beyond belief. It is like suddenly gliding down into the abyss of one's own past, of fairy tales and songs, first visions of life, play and fears and longings of early childhood, what can never be replaced by anything else and is now gone, completely unreal, never to come back.

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From the first moment, it was evident that Thomas Mann, this most German of living German writers, has become a puzzling and disturbing phenomenon to the thinking German. They feel his closeness to their own world; there is nothing foreign and strange about him to them, but at the same time, he seems the only one of them who has found his way into the world, who became an American, a citizen of the world in the best sense, who has fulfilled the age-old desire of the German soul to be loved, accepted, honored outside of his fatherland. He is today not only a literary figure, but a symbol of German fate, and before his scholarly face and voice the German public divides itself into the parties of hope or hate, of reason or mysticism, of good will or resentment, of open-minded progress or stubborn retreat.

Mann's speech in the Paulskirche met a silent, attentive audience, uncertain, bewildered and curious. But after a few minutes of his most sincere, honest, straight man-to-man discussion of his case, he had won, and when he left the church people were gathering around the entrance clapping their hands, lifting their hats; youngsters ran for several blocks after his car, wishing him well. It was a modest outbreak of friendly emotion, but perhaps the first which has been seen in Frankfurt in many years. There were banquets with ministers and professors, with German wine and *Braten* and a little orchestra to play student songs and folk songs. But, of course, the professor who had just voted against awarding to him the Goethe-prize, might sit next to him, and one could never lose the strange feeling of unreality which pervaded the reunion.

More encouraging was a press conference before more than one hundred journalists—earnest, intelligent faces, most of them young: a meeting of informal answers to informal questions, but handled by Mann with sovereign benevolence and tact. He had decided that he would visit Weimar, go behind the Iron Curtain, because he felt that a returning German writer need not acknowledge the painful cleavage which has divided Germany into two entirely different worlds. He was certainly aware of the danger that this step might be exploited politically on both sides of the fence, and so it was. But he had made up his mind, and American authorities, although making it clear that they did not like the project, promised him no in-

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terference and provided all the necessary facilities for the trip. There was a partly furious reaction on the part of the Western German press, and a passionate reminder that Weimar lies in the shadow of Buchenwald, infamous Nazi concentration camp, in which are now imprisoned thousands of dissenters from communism. But since he frankly and unmistakably stated his abhorrence of authoritarian methods of government, Mann's visit to Weimar was perhaps a futile, but a brave and timely gesture to stress the unity of the German people at the most desperate climax of its disruption.

This disruption has gone far, and one has the impression of its finality—at least for a long period of time until the centripetal forces of the newly booming nationalism and its "unity through hostility" will have sprung into force. Now it is as if a ship has been wrecked, split into two halves, and each part is rapidly being driven in a different direction by different currents. This becomes tragically clear in Berlin, where sometimes one side of a street belongs to the Western world, the other side to the Eastern world. There are no visible boundaries, no enforced reminders; you can freely move back and forth, and still you stand with one foot West and the other foot East—and you feel it with every cell of your body.

I was born in Berlin. I spent thirty-seven years of my life there. When the plane slowly glides down to the battlefield, the heart stops as one stares into the open wound, from which the blood still leaks onto the sandy soil—but unimaginable is the horror if one stands again, as I did, in Berlin. It is as if one were returning after a thousand years. With one blink of the eye, the proud, active, familiar home town has changed into a ghostlike, weird heap of rubbish, a sinister and silent sorrow in which are buried your own existence, your childhood, your years of effort and maturity, yes, even your salvaged life that has recovered its hope and its future. Berlin was between 1920 and 1930 the most European city of Europe. But still more tragic than the perishing of this once wonderful city is the recognition that Berlin even today, in 1950, has remained the most European city of Europe, because Europe's fate is decided here, by the people of Berlin.

The first morning in the city, I wandered around as though in a trance. Without a topographic memory, I would not have found

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my way. Street after street was flattened to nothingness. The Lützowplatz is a vast field—instead of the Neptun-fountain, a demolished bathtub; fences made out of rows of rusty, burned-out iron beds; the bridges torn away; weeds growing on the sidewalks. Over a wooden bridge one reaches the Tiergartenstreet, once a palatial home of Wilhelminic millionaires. The Tiergarten, the old, shadowy Central Park of Berlin, has completely disappeared; its little lakes are dried out; it is a desert of scrap iron, weeds, vegetables, stumps of trees. Just in front of you stares the ruin of the Reichstag, the demolished Brandenburger Tor. From its victory carriage flows the red flag, and the bronze horses seem about to stumble down any minute. Only the many monuments have survived. There sits Wagner, unconcerned, on his marble chair in the midst of miserable devastation; Queen Luise stands some yards away. Hitler had already moved the Victory Column to the center of the park, and the famous Siegesallee, the ugly Via Appia of Prussian kings and princes, has remained as ever. Some of the princes have lost their heads; some have been mutilated elsewhere; it is a surrealistic picture. One recognizes the contours of the giant Russian memorial next to the Brandenburger Tor.

It was a weekday morning, but there were no people, no traffic, no noise. There were only an old woman pulling a dilapidated cart and some pale children sitting forlorn on heaps of stone. From above the misty clouds came the continuous thunder of plane after plane; the airlift was still working.

This city has been more gruesomely, more unreconstructably, more definitely destroyed than the worst earthquake could have done. I visited Rome a few weeks later, and was completely unmoved by the proud ruins of the Roman Empire which brought pathetic tears to the eyes of Goethe, Byron and Stendhal. A huge destroyed gas reservoir in Berlin does not look much different from the Colosseum; the ruins of the Lützowplatz and its Victorian houses excel in grandeur the Forum Romanum. Whether something has been destroyed for five years or for 3,000 years—it amounts to the same eternity of human downfall. The ruins of Berlin are by this time well consolidated; stone after stone is being salvaged by hand, mostly by women workers; there are neat piles of scrap and bricks—

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but this orderliness of disaster makes it still more depressing, final.

And still there is life within these ruins, there is breath and energy, some rudiment of hope. There are in Berlin millions of people fighting desperately against death. I have been in many undestroyed cities of Germany—for instance, in Heidelberg. They seemed dead and dusty and heartless, and I felt like running away after a few hours. I could not stand their macabre, lifeless air. Berlin is entirely different. One hears loudly its rebellious, confident, vital heartbeat. Its air has always been stimulating, cool, astringent. This air one feels now more refreshing than ever—now, when nothing has remained unchanged but the air.

Berlin is still the most hopeful, the most reassuring place in Germany. Not that Berlin is more peaceful, more consoling. There is no trace of peace, no glance of consolation. But suffering is clear here, and outspoken and clear and passionate is the will to bear more suffering.

Everywhere else in Germany, one is frightened by an unbearable fatigue, by an air of suspicion and indifference. In Berlin one finds extreme skeptics but no confusion, the desire not again to be deceived but also the will to self-support, self-help. In Berlin I found no senseless rebellion against a fate that has already become reality, no endless self-pity that grates so much on visitors' nerves. One feels here that some definite change has occurred, the kind of change one ardently had hoped to discover in Germany elsewhere, and that the lesson learned will prevent the Berliner from the old German vice of self-treason. I found no hidden or open Nazis here, as elsewhere; no anti-Semitism; no hate of the invader. Here they are beginning to discover that the moral strength of weakness is always greater and healthier than the most gigantic, immoral power. Berlin has remained, indeed, the capital of Germany, and without Berlin, Germany will perish—perhaps Europe would perish.

The house where I was born is gone. The house where I grew up is nothing but an empty shell; of the place where I practiced, where my child was born, not a stone has been left. The graves are buried under weeds. But I met old friends and made new friends. Berliners are the only people in Germany to whom you can talk as to other normal human beings, who do not suffer from the Ger-

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man complex, who know what it is all about. It is the only corner of the country where people still are laughing, and laughter is the enemy of death. Berlin laughs grimly; it still has retained that strange mixture of toughness, unsentimentality, self-irony, behind which so much shyness and warmth are hidden—the longing to be soft and the fear of appearing too soft. No other sort of people would be capable of bearing the complete madness of everyday in this city which has experienced all the violence of the most fateful concussion of history. Partly subordinated to the American way of life, partly exposed to the promises and pressures of the East, they have to make up their minds a hundred times a day—whether buying a stamp or a newspaper, using their trolleys and subways, buying cigarettes, or listening to the radio. With their two kinds of currency trying to devour each other, their four sectors, four administrations, their barbed wire fences, rules and regulations, they still have not given up. The girls of Berlin still walk and look like girls; the theatres are alive and enterprising; their critics as sharp and merciless as ever; their workers and businessmen eager to work.

However, there is no doubt that the objective situation of Berlin is disastrous. The cut that divides the city is a deadly one. The faces, the clothes, physical and mental aspects, change as in a dream once you transgress the invisible line into the Eastern sector. The old Hitler look of terror and fear and submission becomes immediately alive. Goods have disappeared, shops are closed, smiling has vanished. There are huge propaganda posters, H.O.—shops, state-owned restaurants for the consumption of caviar and vodka, which only the owner of Westmark or the small number of the privileged can afford. This is the only peek I have had behind the Iron Curtain, but there is no doubt that—at least in Berlin—the Russians are hated. Intellectual Communists to whom I have talked admit that about 85 per cent of the population are against them, although they explain that these are former Nazis. The intellectual subscriber to Soviet Russia is doing pretty well. In contrast to the West, the propaganda power of word and art is eagerly recognized. Many have their houses, their cars, their drivers, their extra food allowances. But one senses their mental and physical insecurity, and it was with a sad smile that one of the prominent Eastern writers said

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to me, "I guess one lives well under a capitalistic system, and under a communistic system, as long as one has money."

Most critical is the situation of people who live in the Western sector and earn their money in Eastmarks, as many physicians do. Every third working person in the Western sector is now unemployed; most of the great industrial concerns and factories have, during the blockade, transferred their business to the West, or are planning to do so. The city administration is bankrupt; financial assistance from the West flows slowly and reluctantly. Today, in thousands of rooms, thousands of Berliners are sitting figuring out how long their individual existence can stand the almost complete stoppage of the economy. Ugly rumors are going around that in Paris an agreement about Austria was swapped for a laissez-faire policy in Berlin; and the withdrawal of important administrative forces of the Western Allies from Berlin nourish such rumors. The air lift, a strong symbol of help and fighting spirit, has now ceased its activities. Berlin, needing it the most, is excluded from Marshall money. The Western Zone, enjoying hectic economic reconstruction, does not like to be reminded of its poor dependents in Berlin. Nobody knows what is going to happen. And still, there can be no doubt that the existence of this show window of resistance within the Eastern area of distress is of the utmost vital importance for the life of all Europe.

I traveled to Europe and Germany for a non-political purpose. I felt it necessary to try to reconcile my European past with my American present, to close the gap which has so sharply dissected my own life. I found again smells and tastes and views and words which I had missed for so long, and which I enjoyed deeply. They have formed my life, and I shall remain faithful to them forever. How great a relief it is to talk to your friends in your native language, and to hear your words resound with all their nuances of color and meanings and feelings.

It was a sad and sentimental journey, yet also a reassuring one. Europe as a whole, at least at this moment, seems dead. There is not much hope in Paris, in London, in Rome, in Zurich, in Munich. There is nothing new, nothing growing, nothing that lives ahead of itself. Before I left for Europe, in many discussions with fellow ex-

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Europeans, I decided that I might have been cut off from the vital flow of European spirit which has created the proud frame of our civilization, our traditions, our thoughts and emotions, by my sojourn in America. The frame is still standing. But after a short time in Europe, it seems to me that everything alive is happening over here. It seems to me that the parts have entirely changed, that responsibility and sorrow, mental unrest and productivity, now impregnate the American face, not the face of Europe. There is still much alive of the old habits which provide for leisure and enjoyment of life, and which have the inimitable and authentic flavor of past grandeur. And the casual traveler can still have a good time if he does not notice that his playground is clouded by decay and anxiety. But whoever is young in Europe and not ready for surrender wishes to get away, and most often America is the aim of his hopes. The others, who have given up hope, fear and resent America—as, of course, they fear and resent Soviet Russia—and their resentment is most of the time beyond rational approach.

The only way that is left open (the only way that one can really think of) is—again and again—an economic, political and cultural unification of Europe, including a convalescing Germany. But it does not look at all as if this were possible without further catastrophe, and the faint attempt of Strasbourg has not been very encouraging. Europe will stick to its smalltown national prides and prejudices and ambitions, and see itself grow more and more helpless between and dependent upon the giant forces of the West and the East.

It is this feeling of helplessness and frustration which today paralyzes the "good" Germans, the numerous intelligent and honest people one meets in Germany. There is the gifted young playwright who worked for years in the German resistance—which was stronger than we refugees outside the country suspected—who escaped hanging by a miracle, who spent several years in prison, who became mayor of Luckau (where his prison was located) after the liberation, left the Russian sector, edited a magazine in the American Zone, resigned in disappointment, and lives now, bitter and despairing, in a small village in the Black Forest, convinced that he will hang next time, soon, when the restored Nazi machine will be back in power. There is the famous brain pathologist, Professor Vogt, now

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living and working in a small institute of his own, in a little Baden village. He is eighty; his wife, Cecile Vogt, of French descent, seventy-six, is his collaborator. A vivid man, full of important ideas, once the dissector of Lenin's brain, an important man, but his life work interrupted by Hitler, no money to go on, no assistants, no possibility to get information on significant international developments in his field. He would come to this country in a minute if somebody wanted him.

There is the young astronomer, Dr. Kiepenheuer, then director of an important sun-observatory near Freiburg. The day before I visited him, the French Navy had seized and carried away his most valuable instruments. He had received an invitation to come to this country, and hoped to do so with his wife and three children. (Dr. Kiepenheuer is now with the observatory of the University of Chicago.) There is Heinz Hilpert in Konstanz, a theatrical producer of great power and imagination, once one of the close associates of Max Reinhardt. His wife was Jewish. He lost his job, worked in a factory. His son died in battle. Now he was directing the theater in Konstanz, heading a group of young actors, musicians, stage designers, who lived frugally on salaries that gave them bare subsistence. A fine, inspired theater, moved by idealism and youthful artistic effort. But art does not pay, and their existence hung in the air. The theater has gone bankrupt since I left. . . . I could go on for hours, talking about lives which could and should be salvaged, which also could become the nucleus in the struggle for a real German reconstruction. There are even a number of honest, liberal, highly civilized politicians. And I am certain that there are many others who escaped my attention.

But then there is also the weird fact that people in the Western Zone have already begun again to whisper and to look suspiciously at who is sitting next to them, to lower their voices when talking about democracy, and no longer to dare to say what they think. The Russians have started, and are sponsoring, a violent nationalistic movement that appeals openly to the "small" Nazi. The other parties have reacted by becoming more nationalistic than the Communists. Big business is doing big business; the middle class and the working class are in despair; the declassed refugees live in hopeless

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misery, and the peasant ploughs his field and lives his remote and prosperous life under any regime. But the fact that almost everyone of these people has been exposed to the most ruthless and most brutal dogma of history is entirely overlooked. The progress of healing has not yet been started. There is no patient to submit to treatment. There is no doctor in the German house.

Through all these months in Europe, I discovered with surprise how much I myself had changed in thirteen years of absence. I am certainly not yet entirely Americanized, but I have become a stranger in the Old World. Almost any Texan or Middle Westerner I met in an elevator made me feel like home. Americans have not the trickiness and complexity of the European mind; they are simple, straightforward and realistic. Even if one has nothing in common with them, one knows where they come from, what their living room looks like, what they do after hours. But my most intelligent European friends, living in their balkanized, provincial continent, do not know that they are asleep, that a few hours away from their ivory towers a changing world is marching toward a changed future.

When I was flying homeward, a young French midwife was sitting next to me. She was twenty-three years old; she was migrating to the United States, having taken a job as a governess to three small children in Columbus, Indiana. This was her first plane ride; she was full of excitement; she had some G.I. friends whom she had met during the liberation and hoped to find again. She studied eagerly her handbook of midwifery—but then appeared the great vastness of Newfoundland. The sky cleared over Nova Scotia. Boston appeared, the lakes and villages and roads and hills of New England. I proudly explained the landscape below. "How much room!" she said. "How much room for people to live here!"

America looked friendly. It looked like home.

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Islands of Democratic Ferment in Germany

Alonzo G. Grace

I HAVE been engaged for almost two years in one of the most challenging, difficult, and (many times) frustrating assignments in my administrative career. Economic recovery and material reconstruction of a conquered people in an occupied country may be easily observed and evaluated. But what happens to the minds and the hearts of a people under these circumstances is more difficult to measure. This I do know: given the assistance of top American and European scholarship and leadership, the cooperation of non-governmental voluntary organization, and a foreign policy that, in spite of the Cold War, will continue to recognize Hitler as a symbol for a condition that has not disappeared—intellectual, spiritual and cultural self-regeneration will occur, but not in less than twenty years of intelligent, cooperative, patient effort.

An "eye-for-an-eye" policy of directing Germany into the ways of peace and democracy never will succeed. But a "let-bygones-be-bygones" policy would be equally distasteful. While it is wrong to condemn all German people for the domination of the Nazi Party, in the words of others in Europe who have suffered, "One should never forget that men fought and died for freedom on German soil, and that over six million innocent men, women and children died in over three hundred concentration camps." Dachau should be reserved forever as a shrine to the innocent.

In spite of the magnificent contribution of Germany to the cultural and intellectual heritage of modern civilization, the liberal move-

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ments which occurred during the nineteenth century, the efficiency of government (including contributions to city planning), and other admirable virtues of many individual Germans—despite all these, the German people, and especially the Prussians, have been guilty of aggression time after time. The second German Reich was made possible by Prussian military scientists, the thinking and writing of many scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the evolution of the German General Staff, which has been responsible in considerable measure for the chaos which now prevails over the world.

Many Americans conceive of the German General Staff as nothing more than a group of generals and admirals whose fundamental purpose was to plan military strategy. Quite the contrary. German foreign (as well as domestic) policy was, in large measure, guided for years by the German General Staff. The Pan-German plan for world domination—conquest from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf—was the 1895 plan for the General Staff. It did not disappear in 1918 after Germany surrendered at the end of World War I, and I am inclined to believe that it has not disappeared even under the chaotic conditions which prevail in Germany at the present time.

Several recent articles have painted an exceedingly black picture, especially concerning the American intellectual, spiritual and cultural achievement in Germany. It is my judgment that "the democratic ideal" is not acquired through the use of a hypodermic needle or by means of some formula. It is acquired through a long process of education. It is altogether possible that, during the two-year period preceding the return of all government to the *laender* (states), orders or directives judiciously applied may have resulted in some educational progress. Between 1947 and the adoption of the occupation statute in 1949, in which education is not mentioned, allied effort generally was on an "advise, observe, assist" basis.

I shall not discuss in this presentation the variety of problems that necessarily should be considered in any thorough study of an occupied area, but shall limit this discussion to some of the important and encouraging evidences of progress. These will, I think, serve to indicate that, through cooperation, the association of scholars and leaders, and the process of self-regeneration, durable results are evi-

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dent, if only in small islands of democratic ferment. If we have the patience, wisdom and vision to approach the problem over a long period of time and in intimate cooperation with the other occupying authorities and the surrounding European countries, Germany may become a peace-loving nation.

What are some of these "islands"?

The Chiemsee Conference on Education: The most important development in 1949 was the International Conference on Education, an effort to reopen the doors of Europe to German scholars and leaders. The following description and evaluation is an excerpt from the London *Times,* Educational Supplement, issue of May 6, 1949:

> The first International Conference on Education to be held in Germany since the war was held during April of last year. It had brought together at the "Rasthaus," Chiemsee, Bavaria, some eighty Germans from the three western zones and Berlin, forty Americans (five direct from the United States), and forty delegates and observers from eleven other western European countries. The meeting was a success in the best sense of the word. The setting was perfect. The Rest House lies alongside a lovely lake, and has as background wooded slopes rising to snow-clad peaks. . . . A place made expressly for quiet thought and meditation. But as ever present undercurrent to thought was the remembrance that Hitler built this Rest House, and that but a few miles away was Berchtesgaden, birthplace of his evilest designs.
>
> Every one of us realized how symbolic was our meeting-place, for the main purpose of the conference was to enable Germans to meet again in equal partnership with scholars and teachers of Europe, Great Britain, and the United States, and freely to exchange with them ideas and ideals. The conference theme was "Educational Reconstruction in a Divided World," to be studied not *in vacuo*, but as a crucial, and perhaps the decisive, factor in this age of crisis. Through five days we strove strenuously—our labors made to seem light by the atmosphere of cordiality and cooperation—to discover and define the common aims and principles that should guide us in our efforts as educators. We found much in common, and not least that this was an age of opportunity as well as crisis.
>
> The general feeling of the conference appeared expressed by Dr. V.A.M. Beerman (Holland) when he declared: "Let Christians be convinced Christians, and humanists good humanists. They have much in common; let there be mutual understanding, cooperation and respect."

One cannot assess the results of such a conference. But one can say that we all learned much, that many friendships were formed, and that our meeting proved beyond doubt the enormous fund of good will and desire to cooperate which is waiting to be fully tapped. And

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one may hope, with Senator Paulmann, that "the bridge formed at Chiemsee will be strong enough to sustain the future."

Youth Organization: Youth movements and youth organizations are not new in Germany. In fact, the first organization known as the *Wandervogel* was organized back in 1896, and through the years, until the Hitler era, youth movements and organizations embraced many sound programs. Perhaps the greatest achievement was about 1914, when youth became a recognized factor in the life of the nation. The Hitler Youth Movement was organized and recognized by the Party as a Reich organization in 1926. However, no more than 2,000 youth were present at the party rally in Nuremberg in 1929. In 1936, the organization was legalized, and Hitler decreed that "the entire youth of Germany, outside the home and school, receive its training—physical, mental and moral—in the Hitler Youth for National Service and in the spirit of Naziism." At this time, Baldur von Schirach published *Hitler Jugend, Idee und Gestalt*, in which he wrote, "What was formerly called the German Youth Movement is dead."

By 1940, the Hitler Youth Movement had a membership of approximately ten million youth between the ages of ten and eighteen. At one time, 87 per cent of all youth were part of the Hitler Youth organization. It is evident that with this kind of indoctrination and training all through the formative years of life, a tremendous impact must have been made on youth.

At the conclusion of the war, for the most part, youth were without goals of any kind; the collapse of the Hitler Youth organization, together with the invalidation of the Nazi teaching, left vast numbers of young people without a means of generating more positive ideals and programs. Such problems of the postwar period as unemployment, housing, educational opportunity and general social disorder fall with special weight on the youth of Germany. *Can we now paraphrase the Schirach statement of 1936 and say, "What was formerly the teaching and spirit of the Hitler Youth Movement is dead"?*

One method of preventing the domination of the State and the control of the youth is voluntary youth organization. For example, today (a) the total membership of voluntary youth organizations has increased 700 per cent since 1946. 1,500,000, or approximately 25

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per cent of the young people between the ages of ten and twenty-five, belong to one or more organizations. (b) Voluntary citizen participation on behalf of youth has been encouraged, and at the present time, youth committees consisting of representative citizens from the community have been formed in 266 *Kreise* in the American Zone. (c) Five leadership training schools have been established, in which over 4,000 youth leaders have received training in the fundamentals of democratic youth work. (d) A cultural exchange program, under which over fifty selected German youth leaders have studied youth work in the United States, has been established. Eight Americans and twenty-three European youth leaders have aided in advising German youth organizations.

Self-Help Programs: One of the basic needs at the present time is to provide German youth with a mission. Unemployed youth is a potential danger in any nation. A self-help program has been developed and is well under way. Over 100 projects have been developed without the aid of publicity and without the knowledge of the general population. These projects consist of the rebuilding of damaged buildings, new dormitories, new homes. This becomes the more important, in view of the estimation that perhaps as many as 100,000 youth are homeless and wandering from one place to another throughout the zone. The *Studentenhaus* at Aachen, with the financial aid of the Ministry of Education, has been completely restored by student help. The self-help program also includes the re-establishment of self-governing youth homes and extensive student-worker exchanges, involving self-help and scholarship programs. A Western German Association for youth reconstruction work has been formed to coordinate and advance the program.

International Work Camps: Thirty international work camps will be in operation in the American Zone this summer. At these camps will be representatives from many European nations and the United States. Youth from many nations will live and work together.

Work-Study Program: The work-study program involves an international exchange of selected students, and results from a program developed between 1919 and 1932 in Germany. It provides for sending German students to the United States and other countries for a two-year period, during which these youth work on farms and in

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factories, studying, observing and participating in the way of life in the United States, or in any other country cooperating in the program. Of the 500 work students who participated in this work plan between 1925 and 1932, only one ever became a Nazi. Dozens died in concentration camps; many hold positions of importance in Germany today. While there are many problems connected with the development of such a program on any extensive scale, widespread interest has been expressed in the plan.

A good start has been made, but there are problems and difficulties to overcome. Youth organizations must liberalize their programs, become less competitive and more cooperative. The average German citizen must become convinced of the value of volunteering his time, ability and money to advance cooperative youth programs. Certain nationalistic tendencies must be eliminated. Finally, it is certain that only those things will remain which a considerable number of German leaders come to believe in, and which are closely related to German needs and desires.

In addition to all these projects, three important programs have been established in cooperation with the universities. Briefly, these are:

Frankfurt-University of Chicago Experiment: The relationship between the University of Chicago and the University of Frankfurt is one of the notable developments in the field of German university education. Its basis is the voluntary exchange of scholars, in each case for a period of one semester. The project has been effected without governmental interference; the funds were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation, and the two universities have themselves administered the program. Some of our responsible American experts in earlier days, in spite of their knowledge of the German university, hoped to create in Germany a mass education institution under the guise of "equality of educational opportunity." There was not the faintest concept of the fact that, since professional education and research are the major functions of a German university, there must be some relationship between ultimate employment and admission to the university. Even now, twice as many physicians as will be needed in Germany are enrolled in the universities. The Germans also fail to recognize that "equality of opportunity" should mean that youth

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from all classes, including the working class, should have an opportunity to enter not only the humanistic *Gymnasium*, but also the university. Approximately only 4 per cent of the enrollment comes at present from this particular working group, but that is another story.

I think one of the most important contributions of the Chicago group has been the opportunity for Germans to learn from scholars about scholarly attainments in America. The frequent informal social gatherings; the opportunity to meet with groups outside of Frankfurt University; the relationship between students and professors—all are important contributions to German university life. I hope this program will be organized on a permanent basis.

The American Institute: Again by virtue of Foundation assistance, together with a grant of some 250,000 marks from the Bavarian government to repair a building at the University of Munich, the American Institute has been established. It is an institute in which American civilization will be studied by German students. It will be the first institute in any German university devoted to the study of American civilization.

The Nauheim Resolutions: At a conference of the Rectors of all German universities held at our home in Bad Nauheim during the latter part of August, after three days of debate, discussion and exchange of ideas around the dining-room table, a series of eight resolutions was adopted.

Four of these are:

1. Corporations or fraternities must be eliminated. Since a positive alternative program is needed, the erection of dormitories and student unions is urged. (This is under progress in a small way.)
2. An institute on international education should be established.
3. Wide student-professor exchange on a two-way basis with other countries should be begun.
4. The self-help program must be expanded.

It would be unrealistic to expect to find any extensive understanding of democracy among German students today. They are the very youth who, since childhood, have been deliberately prevented from independent thinking, educated to absolute obedience, and told that

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they owned the world. This was followed by years of hideous war experiences, prison camps, and finally a return to a society in dissolution which did not seem to care about them or their existence. This is not the proper background for independent judgment based on realistic and objective inquiry.

The over-all attitude of German students is one of general disillusion, cynicism and apathy. If they have a positive attitude, it is one of sitting back and waiting to be shown. That this indifference is a dangerous attitude cannot be denied.

Community Councils: The work of the community council in Fellbach, a city of about 20,000, affords an excellent example of the beginning of community initiative and cooperation. After exploratory discussions initiated by our staff with community officials and leaders, a council was organized. The first meeting of this council was held on 7 January, 1949. After some discussion of problems, it was decided to appoint committees to study the following projects and to report progress toward their realization: (a) to establish a small community sales store where women and handicapped persons could sell the products of their home industry; (b) to establish a small community laundry room, where housewives could do their laundry work; (c) to organize a program of practical instruction and practice in traffic control for school children; and (d) to investigate the possibilities of organizing an effective reorientation program in Fellbach for young adults, many of whom are disillusioned war veterans or former members of the Hitler Youth organization.

Fellbach citizens for some time had been discussing these problems informally, but no action was taken toward their solution until the founding of the community council. The council's accomplishments were apparent in a short time: (a) By the third week in March, a community sales room had been selected, equipped, stocked and started in business after an official opening; (b) more than half of the funds needed to purchase equipment for a community laundry had been pledged, and two locations were under consideration for the laundry, either of which could be secured; (c) the committee on traffic education had made plans for starting their program early in April; (d) the committee on education had held several meetings with young men and begun to draw up a positive program.

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A program of mass public interpretation is required in order to convey the spirit and idea of "community," as well as the necessity of broadening the relationship between separate groups and agencies. There are few or no courses on these subjects in German teacher-training institutions. The resistance of German official agencies and governments toward using citizens' groups in the planning of their policies, and toward extending their own staffs by the use of volunteers, is a block to progress in civic improvement and initiative. But many community groups are developing.

Other Examples of Islands of Democratic Ferment: Because of the limited opportunity to discuss in detail many of these islands of democratic ferment, I will merely list other important evidence, much of which is as important, perhaps more important, than those discussed in more detail:

1. *The Exchange Program.* This program probably is one that will be referred to time and time again as producing unusual and unexpected results in the so-called democratization of German people. The program includes representatives of labor unions, women's organizations, youth, educational church groups, and others. Over five hundred persons were brought to the United States last year, and fifteen hundred have been planned for this year.

2. *Establishment of the Free University of Berlin.* I have not commented on this, for in the October 15, 1949, issue of *School and Society* may be found a complete explanation of this important contribution to German education.

3. *The Esslingen Workshop for Teachers,* which brought together outstanding specialists in education and psychology not only from the United States but also from Europe; and where for almost three months, teachers and experts planned together.

4. *The Educational Service Centers,* of which there were originally nine, located in various parts of the American Zone. It was hoped that one in each German state would become a permanent installation within three years. These centers provide not only for cooperative curriculum planning, but also for many other services which can be rendered to communities. They also are intended to bridge the gap between the parent and the school. These centers, I

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feel certain, will become permanent in Stuttgart, Berlin and Weilberg.

5. The development of the *International Youth Library* at Munich, which was opened September 14, 1949. This program was initiated by Mrs. Jella Lepnan, and will become one of the most important libraries for youth in Europe.

It would be naïve on the part of the United States to believe that a people will become a body of peace-loving world citizens overnight. The intellectual, spiritual and cultural self-regeneration of a nation whose people for generations have been guided and directed along paths of nationalism, racism, militarism, can be accomplished—but it will take time.

How Long Shall We Remain in Germany? I would say that the mission in the future will be much more difficult than most of our leaders visualize. We should stay a long time—perhaps twenty years, but only if the following developments are effected:

1. Our American universities, colleges, schools must recognize the validity of a leave of absence for the cause of peace as they did during the war when men volunteered or were recruited for the armed services. Then there seemd to be no difficulty to have two, three or more years away from an institution. Today, when we are concerned with peace, few of America's top scholars have volunteered to accept more than a few months' or perhaps a year's service abroad and for good reason.

2. A government, no matter how benevolent, particularly an occupying government, never can accomplish all goals. Voluntary non-governmental organizations in this country should take a deeper interest in the problems which confront us in Germany. In fact, it is through the non-governmental agency in the long-term picture that the most progress can be visualized. I refer particularly to the excellent project sponsored by some of our outstanding Foundations, the Unitarian Medical and Educational Missions, the work of the Friends Service Committee, and others.

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3. A wide exchange on a two-way basis must be developed in a normal manner within the next two years.

4. Universities and schools in Germany should be affiliated with institutions in this country. Such a program is in part in progress but the affiliation in this event should be in the intellectual, spiritual and cultural realm, rather than in material aid. Too many people in Europe eagerly grasp for the CARE package, and while there is some distress over there, it is not any more extensive at this time than it is in parts of our own country.

5. It is the business of everyone to understand foreign policy and it is, likewise, our business to understand the conditions that result in decisions by our government, but this should be within the framework of certain principles which should be considered in our foreign relations; for example:

a. Our State Department, acting for or representing the President, should be the one department to make decisions regarding foreign policy. All other efforts should be coordinated through the Department of State.

b. Far too many Americans abroad make too many promises involving matters over which they have little influence. That is particularly true with people on official or semi-official missions abroad. The average European places a considerable amount of confidence in the reliability of governmental representatives irrespective of their authority. Americans need to begin to learn how to listen.

c. We must learn too, that the Communist ideology thrives on poverty, ignorance, frustration, disillusionment, and that in Germany, especially, the seeds of democracy will not germinate merely through public addresses, forum discussions about democracy, or organizational nonsense. There is especially a need for a concrete program of democracy in action.

6. A unified program in Western Germany on the part of the three allied occupying powers is absolutely essential.

7. Since Germany is part of the European structure, it is necessary to secure the collaboration of the European countries if this

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program is to be developed in an efficient and an effective manner.

These are not the only requirements for a twenty-year period in Germany, but I should say that unless we can reasonably rely on the accomplishment of these goals within the next three or four years, we had better abdicate now and save the money. We must not forget that the menace which Hitler symbolized still exists. We must continue to support the small democratic element in Germany with the hope that one of these days it may become a majority. There is still hope, but time is running out. Let us face the problem of world leadership realistically.

AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM

Because of the illness of one of the scheduled contributors, the Forum discussion originally planned for this issue on THE DEMOCRATIC LIMITS OF THE WELFARE STATE *has been postponed until the Autumn number. The participants in the discussion will be* Louis M. Hacker, Max Lerner *and* Charles E. Lindblom.

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The Reader Replies . . .

THE READER REPLIES *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. Unfortunately, because of the illness of one of our contributors, there is no Forum in this number. In the Autumn number, miscellaneous letters of comment on various articles will appear, as usual, in this department. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *415 First Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Autumn number should be mailed before July 10.*—EDITOR.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EDUCATION

A Matter of Keeping Education Free

I could not make out, from reading Dr. Shuster's article, whether or not he advocates public aid to private schools. I thought once or twice he was about to suggest that the public should support parochial schools, but later he warns us against accepting tax funds of any kind for private schools, because of the possibility of control, and suggests instead that the tax laws be changed to allow the private citizen more chance to give to private institutions.

I was therefore puzzled by the emphasis on the religious question throughout Dr. Shuster's article, beginning with his initial statement that the most significant reason why private education continues to flourish is that public education cannot teach religion. I do not think that this is the reason, except in the case of the Roman Catholic schools. The rest of the private schools and colleges have flourished because of the social and educational prestige they have in the eyes of the general public, and, in many cases, because of the quality of the teaching. The private colleges are already receiving federal funds for certain services carried out at the request of the government, and will no doubt receive larger sums for various purposes in the future. The extent to which they do so will be determined by the country's social needs, as appraised by the government in both the legislative and executive branches, and by the extent to which the financial support of private colleges can continue to come from private sources. It is only because the private and states sources are no longer adequate that there is so much current talk about federal funds for education.

On the other hand, in the remarks which Dr. Shuster does make about the relation of

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parochial schools and colleges to public support, the real issue involved in the matter of federal aid to education seems to have been lost. The reason that most of us object to financing parochial schools in any way with tax money is not only that we do not believe public funds should be used to support sectarian religious teaching, but that the social philosophy implicit in the doctrines of neo-Thomism is one of control and authority, rather than one of liberation and individual independence. Having emancipated the school system from control by religious groups which formerly exercised a direct political and social influence through the demands made for acceptance of standard truths, we do not want to give our financial support to encourage revival of that control. The objection is therefore not to a religious belief, which every citizen is free to hold or not to hold, but to a political philosophy embodied in a social institution. I too would like this country to be a place having room for both John Dewey and Bernard Iddings Bell, but I see no reason to spend tax money to support the latter's ideas if they cannot gain acceptance in the regular public school system.

This is not a matter of trying to convert Baptists, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics to the same creed, or of asking Protestants to support Catholic schools. It is a matter of keeping public education free of control by politics and by religion. The way to do this is to pay more and more attention to the quality of the country's teachers, and to use economic, educational, and every other means to raise the level of thought and social sensitivity on the part of those who spend their lives teaching our children.

Harold Taylor
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Reflections of a Private Educator

Mr. Shuster has written a very thoughtful article, which is as admirable for its firm but conciliatory tone as for its solid content. He stresses the *de facto* existence of public and private education at all levels as a characteristic feature of contemporary American civilization and he believes that it is for the best interests of our country that private education continue to flourish beside public education. I support him wholeheartedly, moreover, in his plea that "nothing is more necessary on either side than careful cooperative planning and friendly relationships. And nothing could be more deplorable than mutual gun-toting or snide calumny." In the course of his article he criticizes private schools, especially those under religious auspices, as being too frequently disinclined to cooperate with public schools even in matters of obviously common interest. While admitting that this is unfortunately true in many cases, I would like to point out that the cooperation offered by public school administrators is often rather condescending and is being increasingly dominated by the philosophical outlook expressed so clearly in Mr. Leibson's article.

Mr. Shuster's observations on the McCollum case and related matters are particularly acute and timely. He is certainly right in maintaining that the Supreme Court decision in this case is very damaging to the best interests of public education.

Regarding the question of public support for private education, I am less inclined than Mr. Shuster to fear public control as the price of public aid. I believe that private educational institutions, whether under secular or religious control, provided they clearly serve the public interest, can present a sound case in justice for state or federal support, at least to a limited degree. I am very dubious, furthermore, that private education can do very much toward solving its financial problems through the means suggested by Mr. Shuster. Finally, Mr. Shuster reaffirms his faith in traditional American democracy in the best sense. Hence, he holds that private education is or can be democratic and that it has further valuable contributions to make to our American life.

Mr. Leibson would seem to be talking about a quite different kind of democracy. For him, private education of any kind is stigmatized as being non-democratic. In his

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own words: "To provide public funds for private schools is to encourage a non-democratic form of education. . . . Making those parents who insist upon the right to have their own schools pay for the public education system as well as for their own, is democracy's mild way of discouraging those who differ." These statements smack of what Mr. Shuster calls so aptly the "wringer philosophy" of democracy and of democratic education. The full realization of ideas of this kind would put us far on the road to totalitarian democracy.

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The Catholic University of America
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More Than the Right to Choose

Although much of my own education was obtained in private schools, I am in complete agreement with Bernard Leibson's conclusion that public funds should go to buttress public education, and public education alone.

Our public schools are the recognized vehicles for the inculcation of democratic concepts and, whereas private education has its place in a democracy of free speech, the state has no logical business to encourage actively a system of schooling that aims at "ethnocentricity" or "religiocentricity."

Mr. Leibson seems to think that the principle of separation of church and state has lost much of its value and force. I regret his observation. I believe the principle must be upheld. Non-taxation of church property should not be viewed as indirect aid but as implementation of the hands-off policy of the state, for "the power to tax is the power to destroy." As for the auxiliary services rendered by the state to non-public schools, may I assure Mr. Leibson that large numbers of Protestants do not welcome these services.

Some ecclesiastical sources find it expedient for the sake of obtaining government aid to distinguish between secular and religious phases of private education. The distinction is quite spurious, for it ignores the fact that religious education, when properly conducted, affects and permeates the entire curriculum.

The undersigned has made it a point to say that state aid to private (religious) schools would be a violation of conscience. If government aid for schools of a religious nature should be attempted, it would cause many Protestants to refuse to pay taxes in support of any schools.

Religious freedom means more than the right to choose a particular creed; it includes the right to reject all other creeds. To force any citizen of the U. S. to give financial school support to any creed that is contrary to his own is to make an end of religious freedom. Such coercion of conscience could only result in disobedience to government.

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A Simple Footnote

Mr. Shuster, in his article, "Plea for Cooperation," suggests a way to help private education "properly" by a revision of the tax laws. As a teacher in a private school, non-sectarian by the terms of the original small endowment, and as a parent who has paid private school tuition bills for many years, may I suggest a simple footnote to this paragraph? A taxpayer might be allowed to deduct the amount of tuition paid for a dependent at a recognized full-time private school. He is already allowed to deduct gifts made for scholarships to his Alma Mater, but at present he may not deduct the cost of tuition if he sends his child to that same school. There is some precedent here in the dependency credit applying to a child of school or college age.

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The Real Issue

President Shuster's common-sense generalizations about democracy and religion catch Protestants like myself off guard. He

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rightly says that "private and highly dubious slogans about democracy . . . cannot fail to raise goose pimples on the flesh of every devotee of private education." Mr. Leibson bears him out. To withhold children from public school, he says, "is to deprive them of the very essence of a democratic education." He goes on to speak of "democracy's mild way of discouraging those who differ." Mr. Leibson's equation of public school with democracy, ignoring the Christian source of democracy, appears to support President Shuster's case.

But one who believes in private education because of its relation to free thought and intellectual excellence as well as to religion can hardly agree with him that the center of the problem of Public and Private Education is the parochial schools, important as these are numerically. The parochial schools present a special case. The reason non-Catholic Americans fear any support of parochial schools by taxes—even the indirect support of providing services—is that in many such schools the operative idea of authority in secular as well as religious matters appears to outsiders to be alien to the town meeting and the free play of each man's judgment, on which liberal government rests. That idea of authority, both in theory and practice, is the real issue. Generalizations about anti-discrimination and tolerance of differences of creed obscure it.

Gordon Keith Chalmers
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MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

Television—That Vulgar Art

There is a tale—probably apocryphal—that on her wedding night Queen Victoria turned to her husband and asked, "Does everyone do this?" And being assured that nature knew no rank, she went on to remark, "Much too good for the common people." That is the thesis of R. W. Emerson, secundus, in "Television's Peril to Culture." Never have we read a thesis that seemed so exclusive. It dates back to those days when the Morgan Collection, the Frick, the Mrs. Jack Gardner and the Charles P. Taft Collection could be seen by the right people, by card only—and Mr. Emerson has asked the FCC to turn back the clock. Television, he maintains, should be of, by and for those people who could have obtained those cards.

Mr. Emerson's theory is fear of progress, because progress may debase us. He speaks of the invention of writing with considered point of view. He isn't sure that we were advanced by it. Radio is dangerous because of Dr. Goebbels. That's right. But because of this fear (if he is logical) we should have no books, no newspapers, no magazines, because a standard—his standard—is not observed. We commend a careful perusal of Mr. James Thurber's "The Last Flower" to all followers of Mr. Emerson.

But let us be specific. "At any rate," he states, "the descent from Fred Allen to Milton Berle, is, for the moment at least, the measure of the difference between radio and television humor." That just isn't so. Mr. Allen was always the high-brow's humorist. He was never the top popular comic. He was wise and sophisticated even as Ed Wynn is on television. That might be a measure of difference.

Mr. Emerson decries even the serious TV discussions because "they (the participants) are warned not to use words which might not be understood by a tenth-grade child." That is, of course, true in any mass communication. Since when is the use of long words a sign or substitute for erudition? But we would hold that no man who has carefully thought through his thesis would find difficulty in using words of such simplicity. A much more serious difficulty Mr. Emerson does not even mention is this: So far we have not, for the most part, had top-notch people in for discussions. This can be explained easily enough. They will be avail-

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able when a large enough audience is a potential television audience. By the same token, the most important public figures prefer to write for large circulation media.

And again, "Sports are more popular on television than the drama." (They are in real life, too.) "And the prize fight seems to be the most acceptable type of sport." This isn't quite so. That even more vulgar sport of wrestling is more popular. But here is snob-appeal with a vengeance. What is wrong with TV prize fights? Toscanini, not an outstanding low-brow, is one of their more ardent supporters. Gene Tunney likes to hear and see Toscanini play. Tunney, you say, is no average prize fighter. Granted! Neither is Toscanini an average musician. It is, we are afraid, simply a case of one man's meat.

Let us move for a moment into another field of the arts. Thomas Hart Benton wants his pictures hung in bordellos and saloons. (The refinement of locales is ours in deference to THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.) Benton wants people to see his pictures while they are enjoying themselves. Not in museums. Television wants to be seen, when and where people are enjoying themselves—and furthermore, television wants to and does provide the entertainment.

Mr. Emerson is worried about sponsored programs. Why? What is the matter with the opera? It is sponsored, and the only thing that is wrong with it is that the average American isn't interested in the opera. That's all. How about this sponsor? Shall he not be allowed to sponsor the opera?

Mr. Emerson is afraid of television because it is, or soon will be, so mechanically perfect that it will become too powerful. That is true. But television has a dimension of reality all its own. It is in this respect more penetrating than the printing press, the newspaper, the telephone, the telegraph. We may not be ready for television. But what is good? Would theatre, or literature, or the body politic, or medicine, or law pass up such a dimension of reality if available? Of course not!

After all, the people will decide. And they will accept the good and discard the dross. If they don't, they will believe that they have, and who will gainsay them?

Let us hope that we do not return to the patron, as Mr. Emerson implies that we should. "Is not a patron, my lord," asked Samuel Johnson of Chesterfield, "one who looks with unconcern at a man struggling for his life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help?"

Thomas L. Stix
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★ ★ ★

The "Emerson Editorial" to which Mr. Stix refers was (as have been the others signed R. W. Emerson, secundus) *drafted by one member of the Editorial Board and circulated for suggestions and criticism among the other members before revision and publication. Hence, each such editorial is at least in one sense a collective venture, although all members of the Board do not necessarily hold the sentiment expressed in a given editorial. At any rate, the following rebuttal is entirely the product of that Board member who drafted and wrote the Emerson Editorial on television—and was not read by other members of the Board.*

—EDITOR

Rebuttal

It's wonderful what can be done with "logic." If I call attention to the fact that modern developments in mass communication have a more ambiguous relation to culture than the original invention of writing or printing, I am accused of following a "logic" which would lead to the banishment of all achievements in mass communications. The same "logic" would make it impossible to call attention to the very grave dangers in the development of atomic energy without being accused of regretting the invention of the plow or any other instrument for the mastery of nature. This kind of logic is nonsense. I am trying to say exactly what I mean, which is that recent developments in mass communications are not a clear gain for culture, just as recent developments in the mastery of nature are

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not a clear gain for civilization. The "logic" which makes such a statement to mean that I regret all the achievements of culture and civilization is preposterous.

The greater popularity of sports over drama in television shows is justified by the writer by the fact that sports are more popular in real life also. But this is to miss the point. In real life people can make their choices according to their tastes. Television forces everyone to accept the general average. A warning that there is in this development a threat to culture is termed "snobbism."

I suggested that the desire to secure the greatest possible audience for every show was not inherent in television, but in the institution of commercial sponsorship. This criticism is met with the question, "What is the matter with the sponsored opera? . . . the only thing . . . wrong with it is that the average American isn't interested in the opera." There is of course nothing wrong with a sponsored opera but there is something wrong with a great institution for the dissemination of culture which must, for commercial reasons, consider the popularity of every program. The peril in this general leveling down of a culture can be seen by anyone whose mind is not unduly influenced by the special interests which are already established in this great medium. I am not afraid of television if an intelligent community sets about to use it in such a way as to do justice to all the interests of the community involved. But television as merely another engine of power in the competitive struggles of our glorious "free enterprise system" will lead to cultural disaster.

R. W. Emerson, secundus

Communism and Academic Freedom

The FORUM (Summer, 1949) and replies on communism and academic freedom point to the need for re-examining the cherished Milton-Locke-Mill tradition on toleration. Time and again, we have seen that a society cannot be run solely on the basis of an endless search for truth.

In the case of the University of Washington Communists, we find that it is impossible to move against undesirables merely because they are unfit to engage in the search for truth. No matter how outmoded the philosophic basis of Marxism and no matter how dogmatic its teachers, we cannot move against them without postulating another orthodoxy or without implying an orthodoxy by saying that whatever the truth may be, it is not what these men stand for.

It is characteristic of the liberal temperament to neglect linking up, on this issue, the task of the universities' search for truth with the other values held by the rest of society. Very few intellectuals have seen that the movement against Communists in government as well as on the university staffs is not a movement against speech or thought, but against persons who have placed themselves beyond enjoying the rights and privileges of the community. Much as the liberals would deny, as Professor Emerson of the Yale Law School denied it, there is a basic orthodoxy in the American community about how far the benefits of society should extend.

This is not to deny that communism must be taught in our universities. If we look upon the university as the leader in the task of training critical minds for revaluating our basic consensus, and if we take the university's job seriously, the same considerations which define who shall be entitled to rights in our community must apply to those who are engaged in the crucial task of training the young people in our society. We want the best critical minds possible, but we also want criticism to begin from a common point of departure and to proceed toward a continuing common goal. We do not want that criticism instilled by men and women whose primary loyalties are not to the American community.

Bernard W. Wishy
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Walking Backward into the Future

So impressed am I by the article by

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Laurence Sears, "Walking Backward into the Future," that I wondered if you wouldn't be willing to reprint it in pamphlet form. I should like to see it circulated widely—as widely as possible, in fact. I should be willing to buy and circulate a large number myself. The sooner the better. Hoping you will do this.

Irene Sutherlin
Box 287, Gadsden, Alabama

I am writing, rather late I am afraid, on the article by Laurence Sears, "Walking Backward into the Future," in the Autumn number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

It has seemed to me vital, for a long time, that someone should express clearly and cogently the very views which Mr. Sears so brilliantly phrases. I wish that his article could be reprinted and spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is just barely possible that there is time to halt our present disastrous policy before it is too late, though I doubt it. The tradition is of too long standing—the pressure of willful men too great.

Twice in one generation it has been within our power to lead the world toward peace. We had the affection and the admiration of the great mass of peoples of the world—at the end of World War I, and also at the end of World War II. At least—at the end of the first war—we retired into isolation; now, having defeated our enemy—we seem to have embraced his principles. But Mr. Sears said it better than I can. I hope that he will appear again in the near future in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

With admiration for your courage in printing, and Mr. Sears's ability in writing, "Walking Backward into the Future."

Clinton C. Balmer
219 S. Princeton Circle
Lynchburg, Virginia

American Foreign Policy

The articles on foreign policy in the Spring issue are relevant only if you feel that we are concerned with keeping any other nation from pre-eminence and, perhaps, thereby assuring victory in war. That is an outmoded idea and of little comfort in the days of the atom bomb. What everyone worries about is whether he and his family and the rest of his countrymen are going to be blown to Hell and gone by a Russian bomb.

The authors are as unrealistic as the State Department, which follows the path outlined by Mr. X and endorsed by Professor Burnham: We must oppose everything Russia favors and snipe at her until the Communists are overthrown. Not only is this a departure from any standard of conduct, but the hoped-for result is at present too remote to merit consideration. What we want is to avoid a war with the horrible consequences to all in these days of modern arms.

Where differences exist, the way to avoid a fight is by agreement, and the way to agree is to discuss. That our President and the Department of State refuse. Not only will we refuse to meet halfway, but also we exclude the Picasso mission entrance to the country. I am not so naïve as to believe that much would be done, but are we so lacking in men who can be trusted to keep us out of traps?

Moralistic insistence upon working through UN seems pure hypocrisy. To date the UN has not solved any major issue involving a great power; we have used it as an instrument for our own purposes and bypassed its agencies when we saw fit, viz., the Marshall and Truman Plans.

We have raged at the unreasonable abuse of the veto by Russia, but, bad as this was, it was the exercise of a right under the Charter. We said little or nothing when other countries flagrantly refused to accept the decisions of the UN. Please understand that this is no defense of Russia, but points out that we are not without fault and have strayed from the high moral path which we insist Russia should and must follow.

Getting back to the articles, there are some assumptions and arguments that are questionable. Repetition of the conventional patter about the Benelux countries and the Atlantic Charter does not convince me that

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those countries will stand by when they are in the path of invading armies and falling bombs. Certainly they will have to show greater fortitude than they did in the late war where the pressure was incomparably less than it will be in the next one. Assuming that they stay put, how much will they help? Taking an extreme case, we have Luxemburg mentioned often by our military press releases. It has a population of some 300,000 with an "army" of 1,000 customs officials and policemen!

Our tactics, as distinguished from long range strategy or part of it, have not been free from doubt as to wisdom. Refusal of Marshall Plan aid to Communists lent support to the argument that we were not high-minded but simply using our money to implement world power. It drove such countries right into the arms of Russia. The Truman Plan was worse. The evidence as to Turkey's danger was never clear. In Greece, we backed a corrupt, inefficient and tyrannical ruling class which had been suspiciously pro-Nazi. The practical results are amazing. Despite the arms and supplies, the Leftists won the recent election, casting grave doubt on the honesty of the earlier vote under British and American bayonets.

In China we have met conspicuous failure. Now, having lost, we, with bad grace, refuse recognition by the UN of a de facto government and give aid to Chiang too small to save him but enough to antagonize the Chinese and other Asiatics.

It is presumptuous to attempt to set forth a foreign policy where much is concealed or distorted. In keeping with our traditions, decency and wisdom would seem to prescribe:

1. Recognition of the right of the majority in any country to have the kind of government it wants. A country which started with a revolution should not revert to a Metternich's philosophy.

2. Insist that countries which get our help use that aid with a fair amount of honesty and fairness, with decent treatment of minorities.

3. Most urgent at present is to try to reach an understanding with Russia in such manner that the world will see that a failure is not due to our refusal of discussion and effort. Delay may permit an increase of our attacking power, but how about defense? Most of us are not as concerned about the number of Russians that can be killed as we are about who of us will survive. Possibly our relative strength may increase but that will not save many from destruction. Today we may have fifty atom bombs and the Russians one. If next year we have a thousand and they but ten, our power is relatively greater, but ten times as many of us will perish. Survival is more desirable than victory.

Maudlin fear of death, which I find greatest among college professors—possibly because they think more—is not so serious as life under the sword of Damocles.

Norman M. Behr
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I should like to comment on the article, "Using the Past to Move Forward," that appeared in the Spring, 1950, issue.

Professor McGee, with an initial and a final apology, concerns himself throughout most of his article with the balance of power. He maintains that our first task is the restoration of a "favorable" balance of power. Historically, he implies that such favorable balances have brought "national security" to European sovereign states.

To me, it is painfully obvious that whatever system has been used by European sovereign states to provide themselves with national security has been a total failure. I don't see how we can escape the fact that balance-of-power diplomacy, while it may have been repeatedly maintained brief, unstable equilibria, has been in itself a major cause of many wars. In view of the recent improvements in the destructiveness of war, it is high time that we recognize the futility of the old diplomatic techniques.

As each new war approaches, the public of each nation is given to understand that its diplomacy has been sound, but that an aggressor of previously unheard-of malice is upsetting what would otherwise be an era of diplomatically arranged peace. Professor Sears refers to this form of rationalization as

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"the devil theory of history." Any diplomacy can avoid war in the absence of a devil. The test of a system of diplomacy is its ability to avoid war when threatened by a devil. At least that is the test we must apply now; formerly, the avoidance of war was not considered the major function of diplomacy.

We need not trust or appease Russia. But let us cease childishly to call her names. Let us undertake a new policy of bargaining, beginning in such fields as East-West trade, where the success of the bargain need not depend on the keeping of ill-defined promises. By shrewd, realistic, unbelligerent bargaining, I believe we can evolve the "genuine system of peace" that even Professor McGee believes (though he mentions it only in passing) must supplant the balance of power.

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The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition

In Robert Gorham Davis' polemics against the New Criticism as alien to the Democratic Tradition, the elementary rules of evidence are disregarded in no less measure than in the attacks currently being made by reactionaries against liberals, in the name of Americanism. In neither case are arguments examined on their merits; in both cases the opponent is held guilty by association and origin. A bill of attainder is presented.

Mr. Davis points to the ancestry of the New Criticism: Eliot, Maurras, De Maistre. He shows that Maurras, a critic of liberal democracy, was also an anti-Semite and a Petainist; that De Maistre, besides distrusting the Enlightenment, endorsed absolutism and the headsman's axe. Ergo, the New Criticism is of foreign origin, suspect at the least of sympathy with anti-Semitism and fascism. By this "logic" of association, one can produce any conclusion one wishes. Example: Jefferson was influenced by Locke; Locke was a patriotic Englishman; therefore Jefferson was an Anglophile.

If De Maistre and Maurras in distrust of liberalism went off the deep end to embrace tyranny, does this refute their arguments against liberalism? Not without repealing the law of the excluded middle! Does it not rather suggest that thinkers—even great ones—can err by uncritical acceptance of allies? Liberals as well as reactionaries sometimes fall in love not wisely but too well. The "rationalist anti-traditionalist," Occam, so disapproved the secular activities of the Church that he would have granted unlimited power to the Emperor. Luther went to similar extremes. Kant and Goethe were for a while taken in by Napoleon, the Liberator. Call the roll of the liberals who were sympathetic with Soviet Russia twelve years ago, and many faces would be red. Does this justify current arguments that liberalism is un-American and a step toward communism?

The plea for keeping criticism within the "Democratic Tradition" safe from the winds of doctrine comes strangely from a defender of the rationalist liberal school. One might think it more congruent with the ideas of Burke, Savigny, De Bonald, De Maistre, Maurras and Eliot than with those of Locke, Condorcet, Jefferson, Jackson, John Dewey and the two Roosevelts. Like ultra-royalism and ultra-montanism, the "Democratic Tradition" ends in dogma and a ludicrous parody of actual tradition. The American tradition has always included critics as well as champions of democracy—without fear or favor.

Julius W. Friend
1807 Palmer Avenue
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

With "The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition," Mr. Davis opens the discussion of our largest question, the decisive one—contemporary art's relation to life.

Contemporary art is an art "engaged," and, plainly speaking, engaged to a dowry. Our literature, for example, has not yet explained *through its art* how the burning of 6,000,000 people became possible. Our literature has not explained this because it could not explain it; having abandoned its responsibility to life which is the burden of

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the individual man, it had abandoned itself, its reason for its existence, and thereafter could see nothing, hear nothing, explain nothing; it could only indulge in technological frivolities, in devising ever newer methods of saying that it has failed, and so open the way for the burning of the entire race later on. As life's highest expression, our literature of the last number of years is a terrible failure.

Outstanding as examples of this failure are T. S. Eliot and the fussy technologists (Auden, Spender, Winters, Moore, Shapiro, Schwartz, and all the rest of the mediocre flock) who followed him in his denial of the value of human feeling. In essay after essay, Eliot defended what his collegium was doing. And what was it that they were doing? They were not expressing any inner meaning of life, the world within the individual man; they were, in the words of that great poet, Rilke, "expressing the reality accessible to all." Eliot's work of twenty-six years (collected poems 1909-1935) is mostly frivolous teacup rattling and incessant "turning" from one to another part of outside reality which he accepts. Such poems as "The Hippopotamus" have not helped him to see beyond the despair of "The Waste Land"; the despair drove him in full submission to the True Church. It was his fear of the Waste Land, the fear of a man without a vision, that brought him to his ludicrous position of today, the position of the prize intellectual of the True Church's Politburo and its recruiting sergeant, a-cocktailing on Broadway, straining "to turn" popularized psychoanalytical jargon into poetry.

Hillel Frimet
New York, N. Y.

A proper refutation of the delicately poised argument of Robert Gorham Davis' *The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition* is difficult to manage in a brief, epistolary comment. Like many readers, I am in at least partial agreement with some of Professor Davis' premises. I cannot accept, however, the omnibus applications to which he puts these premises or the occasionally questionable manipulation of facts to which he resorts.

The authoritarian and positivist predilections of a few of the early high priests of the new criticism do not apply to most of its more recent practitioners. Professor Davis implies that they do. In fact, his article implies a political emphasis far greater than is actually the case in the later work of many of the critics cited. It ignores the changing emphases in the positions of the different critics themselves and posits as basic what is probably only peripheral in their aesthetic dialectic. To mention the recent work of only two of the critics scored by Professor Davis, Robert Heilman's *This Great Stage* and Cleanth Brooks's *The Well Wrought Urn* are essentially *a*-political works. The major business of the new critics is with literature as literature. This is especially true of recent studies such as the two mentioned above. Many of these critics have recently stressed the incidental nature of those concerns which Professor Davis seems to think loom so large in their pronouncements. The new critics must be judged finally as aestheticians, not as ideologues.

Professor Davis says that Allen Tate among others continued to write for Seward Collins' *American Review* "even after it became pro-Franco and pro-Fascist." As early as October, 1949, however, Allen Tate had publicly denied this charge. In *The Case Against the Saturday Review of Literature*, he says:

> About 1937 Mr. Collins publicly expressed Fascist sympathies. I declined henceforth to contribute to his magazine; other writers did likewise.

Professor Davis labels Ezra Pound "a Protestant from Indiana." The first part of this phrase is misleading; the second, inaccurate. At no time in his career was Ezra Pound militantly Protestant, and it is stretching a point to say that he was even nominally so. Concerning his origins, he was born in Hailey, Idaho. His residence in Indiana was fleeting. As well say that he was from New York or Pennsylvania. He resided for longer periods in both of these states.

Clarence L. Kulisheck
Baker University
Baldwin, Kansas

(Continued on page 380)

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

The Autobiography of a Symptom

Descartes sitting by his Dutch stove could reduce to a minimum the furniture of his assumptions. He could have the psychological security of thinking that, at least so long as he thought, he existed. Schopenhauer could argue that so long as he was aware of desire, he could be jolly well (though "jolly" hardly seems the word for Schopenhauer) certain that he was really real. And there are various other fashions of retreating to the impregnable height of soliloquy and private awareness.

In an age given over to regimentation by external things, and regimentation by governmental agencies, one welcomes all movements in thought, in art, and in action, which reaffirm the quality of individual life, of irreducible personality. One applauds even small instances of the little flame of selfhood asserting itself against the dampening forces of the big, the grandiose, and the general. That is why we turn so avidly, I think, to the biography or autobiographies of the mavericks and exceptions in our time. Something speaks to our own wistful and constricted hearts when a Gauguin goes off to the South Seas; when a well-established advertising agent becomes a mystic monk; when, in one way or another, an individual tries to make his life bear unmistakably his own signature.

And in our personal lives, when we find signs in ourselves that we are speaking in our own accent, speaking our own minds, living by our own opinions, we feel the pulse beat of our own personality coming to life again. We feel that in having discovered or arrived at ourselves, we have discovered a continent which is all our own.

This gratifying discovery or achievement of the self is always threatened, however, and poisoned by the contemporary passion for statistics. It turns out, alas, that the autobiography of each of us is a symptom. The nuances, even of our revolts and our originalities, turn out to be instances of a statistical tendency. After all, one discovers, one is not the only one who flees regimentation. There is a whole regiment of rebels, all rebelling at the same place and in the same way. It is discouraging to think that one is not alone in wishing to be one's self. Privately and patiently, one has reflected on the inadequacies of national sovereignty, only to find oneself in a whole battalion of those who long for world federation. If one feels he is beyond all conventional groups and a unique devotee of nihilism and chaos, it is humiliating to find thousands of existentialists who are saying and feeling exactly the same thing.

On a bus I heard a young girl describing, to her friend, a young man whom she clearly admired. "He is," she said, "an original-type young man." That is the last infirmity and humiliation. One struggles to be independent, to be unique, to be one's self, only to find one illustrates a statistical tendency, helps define the curved lines on a chart. One guards the flame of one's own personality only to find this flame is a quite familiar type of flame; at best, one has fallen into the stereotype of genius, into the mildly superior rut of originality. Autobiography is becoming so popular an art that a writer can scarcely wait until he is twenty-five before publishing a story of his life. Some day soon, I expect to see such a personal record with a statistically honest title: *The Autobiography of a Symptom.*

Alibi for Dullness

I am told, though not on very good authority (the friend of a friend of a second vice-president), that a certain large corporation requires executives above a certain grade to have an indeterminate number of hours of casualness every day. These periods of silence are naturally not to be at stated times; they are to be as random as life itself. Apparently the president of the corporation had been reading some efficiency magazine, published, unknown to himself, by a subsidiary of his corporation. In

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an article written by a professor of business administration, it was reported that the head of a billion-dollar industrial organization had found he got his best ideas when he was doing absolutely nothing; that the busier he was, the less creative thought he produced. Of late, since he had been promoted to chairman of the board and had had nothing whatever to do, he had been so filled with ideas that the new president of the corporation was busier than ever putting them into operation. The corporation had never declared such high profits as since its chairman of the board had had nothing to do but casually to think.

It has certainly occurred to many of us in moments of extreme busyness that if only we had time to think we should be fountainheads of creative ideas. In the noise of busy days, we light upon notions that we are too busy later to remember, too pressed immediately to develop. It occurs to us that if only we were really free, how many fertile hypotheses we should develop, how our unfrustrated genius would flower! We think of Poincaré, the mathematician, walking along the seashore and having his most crucial ideas come to focus on contemplating the pebbles on the beach. We think of Newton under the apple tree, of Housman walking nonchalantly along a country road after lunch.

It is a little humiliating to be granted suddenly the blessed gift of leisure. One listens for the murmur of the Subconscious; one cups one's ear for the whisper of the liberating disclosure. Nothing happens; all is vast emptiness, a desert of dullness. It is perhaps summer in a remote place with no interruptions. There is for us not a single commitment, social or professional. Now, if ever, is the time when the creative wave should begin, the creative seed grow and blossom. Nothing occurs.

Perhaps, then, one says to one's self, what one really needs is the friction and stimulation of other minds, the crush of action out of which ideas have always emerged. Perhaps what is lacking is the catalysis of work, the urgency of a deadline. Perhaps what is wrong, comes the blushing realization, is one's self.

The Inside Story

It is both discouraging and amusing to read the accounts published in the newspapers of some event about the details of which one happens to be informed at first hand. Even in the most scrupulous report there is something wrong or something missing. Especially is one tempted to smile at interpretations by reporters or commentators, and most especially when explanations are given of motives or of character. One always knows so much better. There are facts not in the public record; there are details knowable only through long intimacy with one of the persons involved.

It is, of course, easy to generalize, and there is a natural assumption that what is true in instances one does know about, is equally true about affairs to which one is a stranger. It is impossible to read of public events these days without wondering what the private facts are. There are curtains—silk, iron, ironic—by which, one is certain, the inner realities of our age are concealed. There are many Kremlins outside Russia, whose secrets, too, are guarded. All this explains the vogue of the gossip column, the personal interview, the growing literature of exposé and confession. Here, one thinks, is the low-down, the real McCoy, the disclosure that lights up everything, the payoff, the revelation. We are beginning to live again in an age of whispers. The wildest rumor, if attributed to some confidential source, an ex-friend or ex-butler, has more authority than a bureau of economic research, or a council of foreign relations.

We are living, as Bertrand Russell once suggested, in an alien world. Even in our own country we feel that we are outsiders. But trust us to try to get the inside story about war and peace from friends of friends of prime ministers, about the universe itself from eavesdroppers of confidants of ministers of God.

The Ambiguities

My friend Flicker is always in a state of perfectly divided soul. He is so fair to all sides that he cannot come to any conclusion. He is particularly troubled now by the arguments pro and con concerning the unin-

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telligibility of modern poetry, and for that matter, a good deal of modern prose. "I'm simply at an impasse," he said to me the other day as he came in loaded down with half a dozen books of the new criticism and the old. "I used to feel free to condemn a poem for being unintelligible, but not now. I have been taught better. I know that language is, in the hands of the creative, an experiment. The clearly intelligible is the cliché. The true artist explores the remote mountainlands of language, its high passes, its dangerous ravines. He scorns words with but a single level of meaning; or, to change the metaphor, he despises the counters of common human interchange."

"A very good case for the difficult in poetry," I observed. "Why do you have any uneasiness at all?"

He wiped his brow. "Oh, but I've been reading some of the older critics," he said, "and I find that a classic writer is one who speaks with the simplest directness about simple ultimate things. Homer keeps his eye, Matthew Arnold says, on the object. He shows us the thing in itself as it really is. He speaks in the great centralities of human feeling. The obscure is likely to be the eccentric, the subtle the parochial, the affectedly private the occupation of an always doomed coterie. The true classic is humanity itself on the level of genius, an exquisitely articulated cry of the general human heart. It spans the parochialisms of class and time and education. It is the secular religion, the creative communion of all mankind. It is everyman speaking to everyman. And is not poetry, as a great romantic once said, simple, sensuous and passionate? What do the new critics have to say to that? You can understand that I am a little bewildered."

"What do you propose to do?" I said.

"I don't know," he said, greatly troubled. "Shall I give up classic poetry or modern poetry, or the critics?"

"Give up the critics," I said.

"That's rather what I had been thinking." And, sorting out his books, he said, "I shall leave the rest with you." He left with a volume of Milton and one of Dylan Thomas under his arm.

Nothing

A novel has recently appeared, quite a superior one, too, entitled *Nothing*. It is not uncommon to have had works of fiction entitled with one omnivorous word: *Steel, Brass, Bread, Loving, Persuasion, Victory*. The word is usually a clue to the theme or to some recognizable range of human experience. But a book entitled *Nothing* is a challenge. Henry Green, the author of this novel, describes it as "a frivolous comedy of manners." The book ends with a middle-aged "hero" saying to the middle-aged "heroine" (in reply to her question, "And is there nothing else at all you want, my own?"), "Nothing—nothing," as he falls asleep.

But the mind strays from the actual story so entitled to other books that might well have been called by the same name. Bergson, it will be remembered, devotes some fascinating pages to the idea of Nothing and the difficulty in imagining Nothing. Mystic theologians, desperately attempting to define God, have, like Dionysius the Areopagite, ended in a negative theology. God, the mystics have frequently insisted, must be nameless because to name Him specifically is to limit his being, and the line between the One and the None is very hard to draw. One of the reasons that even the most gifted poets have had trouble reporting ecstasy is that, in so exalted a state, distinctions are transcended and all becomes "one luminously transparent conscious moment." But consciousness of what—everything? Perhaps it would be better to say "nothing."

One's imagination plays over some possible contemporary uses for this peculiar title. Could not some of our futilitarian interpreters of history, writing on the prospects of mankind, sum up their researches and conclusions with this most negative of words? Could not the word "nothing" be used over and over again by novelists if they were accurately to identify the significance of the characters and the action in their stories? Could not all the inconclusive and ambiguous reflections on the present time be interpreted as sound and fury signifying, as every high school student knows, *nothing?*

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The Revolving Bookstand

The Riddle of Life

René Fueloep-Miller

What is Life, by Erwin Schroedinger. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press—Macmillan. 1942. 91 pp. $1.75.
Soul of the Universe, by Gustaf Stroemberg. Philadelphia: David McKay. 1948. 312 pp. $3.50.
The Searchers, by Gustaf Stroemberg. Philadelphia: David McKay. 1948. 240 pp. $2.50.
Life on Other Worlds, by H. Spencer Jones. New York: Macmillan. 1940. 294 pp. $3.50.

Schopenhauer called the cessation of life the inspiration to all philosophy and search. The problem of death gives rise, contrapuntally, so to speak, to the oldest and most important of all questions: What is life, where does it come from, where is it going, what is its meaning?

For thousands of years, men were content to accept piously the answers given by myths, mysteries, philosophical theories and the Book of Genesis. But when these ceased to be satisfactory, experimental science took over the problem, to pose the questions and suggest the answers. Death became the inspiration to scientific investigation of life. Dissection of cadavers aroused the desire for knowledge of the body alive and in motion. Physiology, developing out of anatomy, would no longer accept the scholastic and mystical explanation of life as a "pneuma" breathed into the body; physiology sought the riddle of the living functions in the structure itself. Shortly after Vesalius drafted the magna carta of anatomy, the alchemists made what seemed to these fathers of experimental chemistry a fundamental discovery. They declared that the "rhythmically leaping red dot" on the surface of an egg yolk would give rise to the living chick out of the lifeless mass of the egg. They called this dot the *punctum saliens*, the "salient" point of all "biology."

Centuries have passed since Borelli put the science of life on an experimental scientific basis, since Lamarck coined the word "biology," since Boyle made chemistry into an exact science, and Berzelius laid the foundations of biochemistry. Yet this long stretch of scientific research has not yet sufficed to unlock the secret that was closed to the seers and sages of the pre-scientific era—the ultimate mystery of life. At various times, biochemists and physiologists have thought that they had found the law underlying all vital phenomena in chemo-physical reactions, in reflex mechanisms, in the principle of the conservation of energy, in electric charges, in tropisms, in the cell theory and in the configuration of carbon compounds. But each time it developed that the "ultimate" answer always gave rise to new questions.

Science has suggested innumerable parallels to support the monistic dogma that organic and inorganic matter are not different in kind. The chemical materials in living nature are made up of the same elements as the inorganic world. The alkaloid contents of blood and sea water are closely related. Viruses are both alive and not alive. Enzymes, like viruses, are known to be protein in structure; and it is possible to crystallize out of a solution derived from organic matter a protein which under certain conditions will behave like lifeless matter, and under others like self-reproducing life. Professor Leduc observed that tree sprouts, tin and lead grow similarly in an electrified solution. And Bose's laboratory experiments indicated that the same stimuli would produce the same curves of molecular reaction from metals, plants and animals.

But in spite of all these diverse data, chemistry and physics have failed to explain the

✪ The author of twenty-nine books, among them *The Secret and Power of the Jesuits*, *Triumph over Pain* and *A Cultural History of Medicine*, RENÉ FUELOEP-MILLER is presently at work on a new one, *Science and Faith in the Crisis of Our Times*, to be published by Scribner's.

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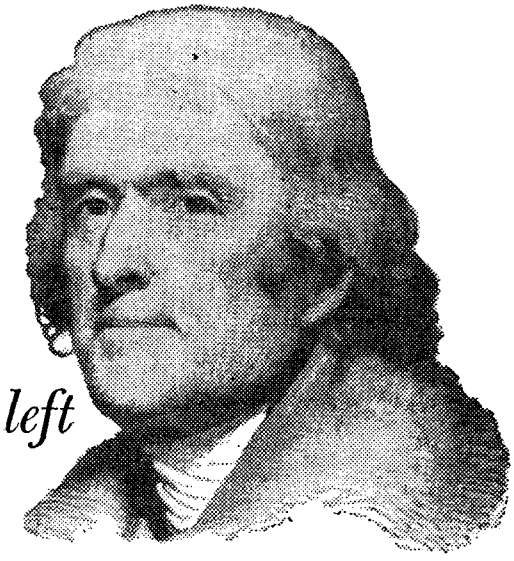

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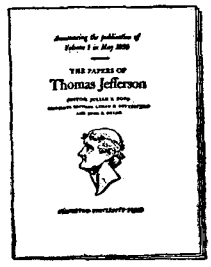

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crucial difference between sea water and blood, animal and metal, protein in the laboratory and the protein of the living scientist who is doing the investigating.

Biochemistry considered the cell "the hiding place of life." It differentiated the cell body and the cell nucleus, traced the six elements that sustain metabolism, growth and reproduction. It found the primal substance of life in protein and nucleo-proteid. It analyzed the complex composition of the myriad organic compounds, the twenty-odd different amino-acid groups of protein, the colloidal system and the system of biocatalysts. But all this did not explain the leap from chemicals and processes to the simple living cell. And, in turn, the conglomeration of cells, assimilation and dissimilation, do not explain the harmonious coordination which constitutes structure: the form and beauty of a perfect tulip; the phenomenon of the living elephant; the human ability to think. As Carl Ludwig Schleich put it: "Protein and nuclein, as chemical substances in the cell, bear the same relationship to the organization of the cell as, say, a block of stone to the Cologne Cathedral or a grain of marble to the Laocoön Group."

In his *Riddle of the Universe* Haeckel claimed he had found the origin of life in the primal slime of the ocean. His "spontaneous generation" has proved to be a myth. And each new hypothesis has turned out to be a new *mythos atheos*. According to one, it was not the primal ocean, but an earth rich in colloids in the early oceanic period out of which, two billion years ago, life developed. According to another theory, life came from distant stars as spores driven by cosmic rays. According to a third hypothesis, life did not arise at all; it is just as old as matter and as much an inherent quality of matter as is gravity.

The laboratory method of biological research stumbles over its own feet. The analytic method dissects the whole, but wholeness is what makes life. The living unit cannot be isolated. The criterion of all scientific research—mathematical proof—has not been applied widely to the phenomena of life. Living individuality defies the calculus. And even if the chemists should succeed in

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producing protein synthetically, it would remain a dead chemical without the structure which makes life. The laboratory cannot become the primal ocean, nor can the time spent in the laboratory substitute for two billion years. No mathematics of probability can calculate in advance the particular combination of the twenty-odd different amino acids by which dead matter was transformed into the self-reproducing unit of protoplasm.

But the central question in the study of vital processes is precisely what eludes laboratory research. Thus all these purely chemo-physical data about nature and the origin of life resemble "a kind of bookkeeping in which all the transactions are listed but the names of the parties are not mentioned."

Monist materialist science made a dogma of Kant's assertion that all phenomena can be explained mechanistically. It took no notice when Kant afterwards reneged and emphatically stated that there would never be "a Newton who can explain mechanistically the living phenomenon of even a blade of grass." The researches of De Candolles, the great Swiss botanist, confirmed this view.

Later, when Hans Driesch quartered a sea-urchin's egg, he discovered to his surprise that a whole sea-urchin developed from each of the four parts. He then recognized that an organism contains an inherent striving toward form which dynamically urges it to assume its inborn shape even after the egg cell is cut into pieces. He called this vital dynamism "entelechy" after Aristotle. Vitalism, which had been anticipated at the time of Stahl and Bichat, was thus invoked in a variety of guises as the new explanation for the phenomena of life. To Driesch it was the plastic drive toward form, to Koehler "the law of structural wholeness," to Uexkuell the "primal musical score of the particular melody governing every living creature." But vitalism too could not solve the riddle of entelechy, of its meaning and origin.

"I put the Rubicon between mechanism and life," declared Frederic Soddy, the physicist and chemist. This is the general

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view of most of the books which have tried to solve the riddle of life through the knowledge of the chromosomic and genetic structure of living matter, supplied by modern atomic physics.

The most important of these books, and the most important modern work on biology in general, is undoubtedly the slender book of only ninety-one pages by Nobel prize winner Erwin Schroedinger, *What is Life?* This Dublin professor of Austrian origin has examined the problem of life as an atomic physicist, and he has set down his findings in a style that is Stendhalian for its clarity and compactness. By microscopic and submicroscopic examination of the germ cell, it proved possible to penetrate to the smallest ultimate units of matter, to the chromosomes within the spherical body of the cell nucleus, and to the gene molecules within the threads of the chromosomes. It is these genes which determine the shape of the germinating organism as well as the whole structure of the growing living thing.

Like inorganic matter, the chromosomes and genes are made up of atoms and molecules. But Schroedinger discovered, as he records in his book, that not the building materials but their specific "arrangements" are of decisive importance for the development of the living organism. The arrangement of atoms within the chromosomes is basically different from the arrangement of atoms in inorganic matter. In the living organism, the atomic arrangement is dictated by what may be called an artistically creative principle of form for which there are no parallels in inorganic nature. Schroedinger compares the structure of inorganic matter with a wallpaper on which the same motifs form a repeated design, while the structure of organic nature resembles a masterpiece of tapestry. The latter employs no repetitions, but the weaving forms a coherent and overall picture by a great master.

Moreover, Schroedinger declares, every species and even every individual of the same species has its unique arrangement of chromosomes. Thus every living being carries the mark of its individuality in the germinal cell. The entire later development of structure and character is, as Schroedin-

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ger puts it, marked out beforehand in a "code writing" and the structure of the chromosomes guarantees obedience to this "code order." Consequently, Schroedinger argues, in contrast to the general uniformity of inorganic matter, the principle of individuation is the basic principle of organic nature.

Schroedinger detected another basic divergency between animate and inanimate nature in the thermodynamic law of disintegration which operates throughout inorganic nature. According to this law, all molecules and atoms tend toward chaotic dissipation. But Schroedinger points out that, in opposition to this law, concentration and order is the primary principle of animate nature. The principle is obeyed by the relatively small number of chromosomes which shape living beings. Out of the orderly system of the egg, there arises the orderly system of the living creature.

This principle puts boundaries to any statistical and physical research into the phenomena of life. For the mathematics of probability which is used in physics applies only to the behavior of large numbers, and to the disintegration of matter. It is not relevant to the comparatively small number of atomic groups which govern the life process and which produce and preserve order out of order. Thus living organisms, though they are not wholly independent of physical laws, are nevertheless subject to laws different from those that govern inorganic matter.

Schroedinger's ideas revolutionize the whole previous conception of biology. But of course they do not answer the question that Ralph S. Lillie posed: "If the arrangements of chromosomes determine the presence of all characteristic features of the organism, what determines the presence of these features in any given group of chromosomes? Certainly not another group of chromosomes, for if this were so we would have to assume more and more groups of chromosomes, and so on ad infinitum, like Swift's epigram on the fleas."

Dr. Gustaf Stroemberg, the famous astrophysicist of Mt. Wilson Observatory, attempts to answer this question in his *Soul of the Universe* and *The Searchers*. He ap-

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plies to his problem the field theory that modern physics has developed to explain phenomena that cannot be treated mechanistically.

Hans Spemann, professor of experimental morphology at Freiburg, was the first to assume a "field of organization" in connection with his embryological work; he posited that the "field" developed the germinal life to its ultimate living shape. H. S. Burr of Yale University came to the same conclusion as a result of researches undertaken with instruments of extreme sensitivity. Burr believed that he had found the biological explanation for the specific design, the plan of growth and the development of all functional phenomena of living creatures, in "electromagnetic fields of force." In confirmation of his theory, he pointed to the similarity between the pattern of electric fields and the corresponding organic forms.

Possibly advances in mathematics will produce a more precise formulation of the field equations than is possible today. But even so, the question of the ultimate cause of life will merely have been transferred from Driesch's entelechy and Schroedinger's arrangement of chromosomes to the sphere of electromagnetic field equations. In the field of "pure physics," for the present at any rate, the riddle of the origin of life remains unsolved.

According to Stroemberg, whose theory is based upon Spemann and Burr's guiding field concept, the solution lies in the assumption of a non-physical field system whose "immaterial guiding fields" bring about the physical phenomena. The interaction between physical and non-physical phenomena takes place through intermediary elements like photons and electrons whose dualistic aspects generate "living fields."

Stroemberg's interpretation of biological phenomena is an integral part of his basic astrophysical concept that a non-physical substratum underlies the entire universe. Out of the imperishable being of this substratum, which Stroemberg calls the soul of the universe, all living and non-living matter arises.

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turies of scientific research and thousands upon thousands of laboratory experiments and complex work with mathematical equations, the mechanistic biologists have arrived at an approximation of Democritus' materialism, the vitalists at something like Aristotle's entelechy, and Stroemberg at, roughly, the ideas set forth in Plato's *Timaeus*.

Stroemberg is a physicist of the first rank and, like Eddington, is able to start from the strict premises of atomic physics and lead the reader away into the mysterious realm of the supra-physical. The *Soul of the Universe* is distinguished by a clarity and neat organization of scientific argument which is missing from *The Searchers*. In his chapter, "Living Dust," Stroemberg's theory is embodied in the story of the Russian refugee Boris Charkov. Here Stroemberg describes a discussion among a number of friends who are searching for the ultimate meaning of life. The "searchers" are Albert Wilson, an idealist; Paul Berman, a psychologist; Thomas Nelson, a physicist; and Dr. Anderson, a mechanist. As the outcome of their discussion, the field theory in its physical and spiritual aspects is presented as the most adequate solution. But stating ideas and giving them a fictional shape are two different achievements, and few writers have succeeded in uniting the two modes. Perhaps only one—Plato.

Stroemberg's theory that the life-generating force is a basic component of our universe reopens the question of whether life is a special feature of our planet or is present upon other heavenly bodies. The view of Arrhenius and Lord Kelvin that the spores of life "drifted" to our world from other planets still intrigues the imagination of both scientists and laymen. With the current fad for science fiction, which has always postulated life on other planets, the idea has suddenly become a topic of the day. Headlines announce the arrival of dwarfish inhabitants from other planets and eyewitnesses claim they have seen "flying saucers" from outer space. Mass hysteria has gripped whole towns.

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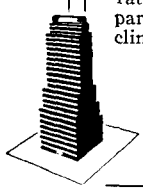

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turning back to the books which attempt a solid scientific investigation of the question of life on other planets. In addition to Jeans's study, *Is There Life on Other Worlds?* there is Astronomer-Royal H. Spencer Jones's *Life on Other Worlds*. This is still probably the most informative and soundest book on the question. It is thoroughly scientific, and at the same time comprehensible to the layman.

Spectroanalysis has shown that the stars are chemically composed of the same atoms as our planet. It may therefore be assumed that the inorganic matter of other planets is similar to that of Earth. Spencer Jones discusses the physical conditions, temperature and atmospheric relationships, which made possible the formation of protein compounds and their transformation into living energy on earth. Do these conditions for the growth and development of life exist on other planets? All extreme temperatures exclude vital processes. Therefore the planets distant from the Sun, such as Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune and Pluto are excluded because their temperatures are too low. Conversely, the planets too close to the Sun are ruled out because their temperatures are too high.

By this criterion only two planets can be considered: Venus and Mars—especially Mars, where the average temperature is about forty degrees centigrade. In other respects also, Mars bears a strong resemblance to Earth. The changes observable on Mars suggest a rhythm of seasons and the growth and decline of vegetation. Free oxygen is a prerequisite of life, and observed changes in the color of Mars indicate the presence of oxygen there. However, the quantity is probably so small that the existence of animal and human life on this planet appears questionable. Jones thinks that Mars may have had animal and human life in the past, but that it has since lost a great part of its atmosphere, and that more highly organized life is extinct on the planet. He considers Mars a dying planet, a planet such as Earth may be in many millions of years, after Earth has lost most of its present atmosphere.

Venus, which lies closest to Earth and is also comparable in size to our planet, is nearer to the Sun than Earth. Its temperature is somewhat higher than that of Earth, so that if any life is possible there it would be different in kind from the life we know. According to Jones, conditions on Venus today may be approximately what they were on Earth millions of years ago. Possibly Venus will cool to a more favorable temperature in the future, so that life like that on Earth will be possible there.

In research into the phenomena of life, as in all fields of research, the final word of science is the principle of uncertainty. Perhaps still larger telescopes and still more refined sub-microscopes may one day reveal the ultimate secret of life. In any case, science does not abandon its search. Even those who realize the necessary limitations of physical science continue their research—although sometimes only so that they may draw the line more sharply. They concur with Lessing's famous dictum: If in the one scale of the balance lay truth, and in the other scale the search for truth, I should choose the search.

THE READER REPLIES

(Continued from page 362)

The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition

R. G. Davis' reply to my protest is as evasive as his original article. In the article he named thirty or forty persons from three countries and two centuries as part of a single movement. He quoted a few words and phrases from some of them, misrepresenting some of these in quotation, made a few general statements about some of them, and from these fragments patched together a positive program to which he asserted that all adhered. The program he described as "this general assault on the assumptions of democratic liberalism," and he derived the entire program from De Maistre and Maurras, the first a believer in absolute monarchy, the second a Fascist. This amounts in effect to a charge of fascism, in spite of the fact that Davis used considerable

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tact in the matter of hinting rather than stating.

I pointed out that Davis knew nothing of my own politics and that I saw no reason to believe that he knew any more about the politics of most of the other persons named. Davis replies that because I have drawn on Thomas Aquinas for some of my metaphysical ideas and because I dislike Whitmanian and Emersonian romanticism, there is a cleavage between my philosophy and my politics. This is the purest twaddle. In the first place there are about 25,000,000 American Catholics, most of them better Americans than Davis appears to me to be. In the second place I am not a Catholic, nor even a Christian. In the third place, Thomas was one of the most eclectic of all the great philosophers. Any man who could draw not only on Christian literature, but on Jewish, Greek and Muslim literature, can certainly be used in turn by a non-Christian.

I use Aquinas because of his defense and use of orderly reason. I disapprove of Emersonian romanticism because it sanctifies impulse, denigrates reason, and leads to confusion. If democracy is the political embodiment of such romanticism, then it is doomed. It is my conviction that democracy is an embodiment of something else and better, and that its worst enemies are men like Davis.

Davis apparently disapproves of both reason and truths (this last was one of the sinful words listed in his article). He has the virtue of practicing what he preaches. I am still surprised that the practice and the preaching should have occurred in your pages.

Yvor Winters
Route 2, Box 625
Los Altos, California

Reply to Mr. Wylie

I am delighted that Mr. Philip Wylie sees women as I do, as merely People in Skirts, and so includes them in his arraignment of *homo sapiens*, America, *circa* 1950, under the title, "Liberty and the Ladies." He, in fact, is more tolerant than I. I do not "love, admire and respect" all members of my sex, certainly not the anachronistic fuzzle-duzzies who call themselves "ladies." I am not surprised that a man in the throes of such an inclusive, undiscriminating passion should miss the point of my contention that women, being people, are therefore individuals, not a flock of sheep or geese, and should not be criticized as though they were. (I haven't read your books, Mr. Wylie, but if in one of them you isolated certain individual women and grouped them according to traits of personality and prevalent behavior as "Moms" and "Cinderellas," and made no vacuous generalizations, I might have joined in the laughter at their expense.) Or perhaps it was my summing up in a "single remarkable sentence most of the flaws in what modern woman deems to be her mind" that blinded Mr. Wylie to logic I might have displayed elsewhere:

> What women employed in this essential industry [of child-bearing and rearing] do with their free time is no more the concern of a self-appointed critic than an inquiry into the recreational hobbies of food transport workers is of a legally appointed labor relations board.

To what I deem to be my mind, *industry* does not necessarily mean paid labor, and my use of the word does not imply that I consider woman man's economic helpmeet only, ignoring "biology, psychology, culture, sex, love" and sacrifice. My "lack of reasoning" in my plea for the individual is more characteristic of democracy than of totalitarianism. "Subverting liberty, destroying human feelings, and turning our nation into a rabble of infantile-adults" are not recreational hobbies in the generally accepted meaning of the phrase—women making such use of their leisure band themselves in groups with formidable names and make a full-time job of it. Any critic, self-appointed or legally designated, may criticize women's *organizations* to his heart's content, but when he criticizes women, as he usually and carelessly does, instead of naming the group, he is including me and I resent it.

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